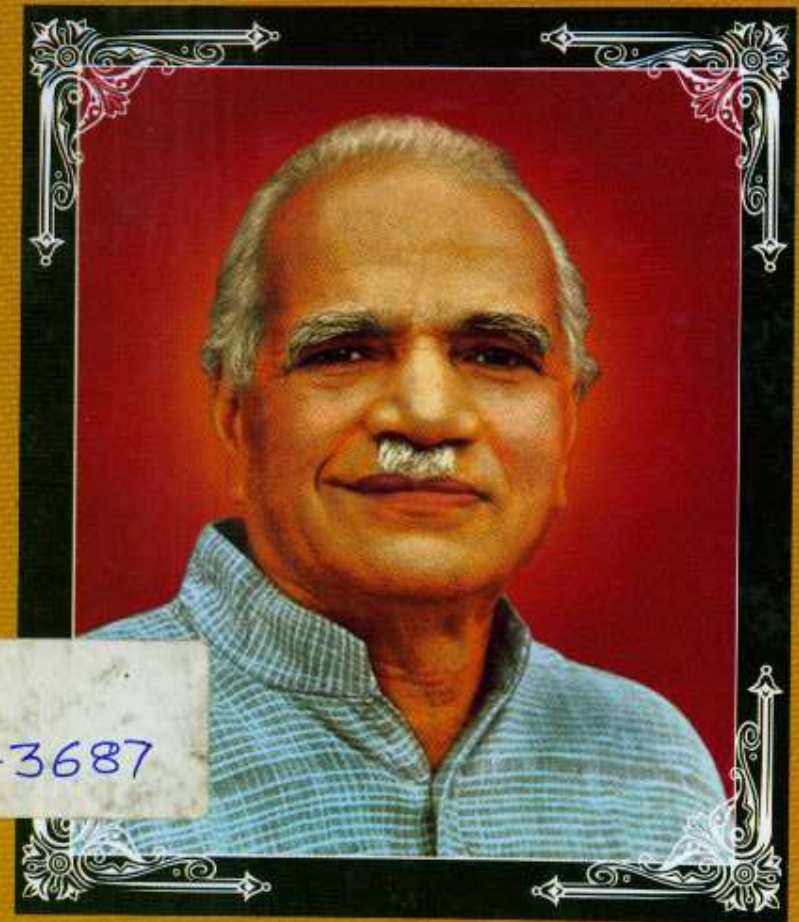


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# Collected Articles of Padmabhushan Prof. J. P. Naik

Volume 3  
Education of the Weaker Sections



P-3687

Dr. Yeshwant R. Waghmare  
Dr. A. Sai Babu

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## Dedication

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Dear Dr. Chitra Naik,

We, all the members of Indian Institute of Education, and other well-wishers, happily dedicate to you these three volumes of 'Collected Articles of Prof. J.P.Naik'.

You have been the guiding force for all the academic activities of Indian Institute of Education. You have been a friend, philosopher and guide to all its members. You are the source of continuous energy for all of us. At ninety-plus you have the drive to stitch and remedy the ills and shortcomings of our country's social fabric. Encouragement given by you to all the underprivileged, from time to time, has added purpose to their lives and made them confident. For the young you are the motivator, for the seniors you are the source of inspiration. All the scholars in the field of education, the world over, respect you.

Let your blessings be with us always to do the best for the society.

*Editors*



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## Foreword

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Prof. J.P.Naik was the most outstanding educator in India's post freedom era. He was born on September 5, 1907. He worked in various capacities at the national level and strived hard to bring about radical change in the Indian educational system. He wanted to transform the educational system to cater to the developmental needs of the newly born nation. The Indian Institute of Education which was set up by Prof. Naik in the year 1948 and shifted to Pune in 1976 decided to observe the period of September 5, 2006-2008 to commemorate his birth centenary. Several programmes were organised during this period, such as the Release of Postage Stamp by Prime Minister in honour and memory of Prof. J.P.Naik, seminars, discussion forums, four issues of a Marathi journal, biographical sketch of Prof. Naik, a documentary, two volumes in Marathi of Prof. Naik's articles on various aspects of education, his biography in Marathi, etc. It was also felt that compilation of the 'Collected Articles of Prof. J.P.Naik' be published as a part of the centenary programme. We are extremely happy and grateful to Prof. Y.R.Waghmare and Dr. A.S.Babu for helping the Institute to bring out three volumes covering writings and speeches delivered by this national and internationally distinguished educator in his life time.

Although nearly twenty seven years have passed since Prof. J.P.Naik's demise and the country has taken many steps forward in the field of education, the thoughts and plans of Prof. Naik still continue to be relevant. Our country and the developing societies worldwide needs visionaries like Prof. Naik particularly when educational systems have to cope with the globalisation of education.

We hope that these volumes will be useful to the education community not only of our country but others also.

*Dr. S.R.Gowarikar*  
Chairman, J.P.Naik Birth Centenary Committee  
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**Special Pages**

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## **J.P. Naik: Rebel, Scholar and Administrator**

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J. P. Naik, known simply as 'J.P.' to his friends and associates, was born on 5 September 1907 in the small village of Bahirewadi, insignificantly situated in a backward corner of Kolhapur District in Maharashtra. His family was large and poor. His environment was rural, of which poverty and social inequalities were the chief attributes. Its impact on his mind was so deep that it permeated all his basic interests and became the persistent focus of his activities. Whichever field he turned to, his rural bias forcefully rose to the surface.

### **EDUCATION (1912-29)**

Naik began to earn his keep at the age of five by tending cattle and working on farm jobs along with other children of his age. At the rather late age of seven, he entered the village primary school which had classes I-IV and was the only educational institution which served the village. But he learnt in about two years all that the school had to teach and returned to the earlier task of agricultural labour and tending cattle. The happy accident of his sister's marriage into a family in Bail-Hongal, a small town near Belgum, suddenly changed Naik's destiny. His brother in law, an affectionate man, got him to attend the secondary school at Bail-Hongal (which lead classes I -III) and later sent him to Belgum where he could finish middle school education (classes IV -VII).

At Bail-Hongal the medium of instruction was not his mother tongue, Marathi, but Kannada which he mastered quickly and maintained his first position at school. He had an equally good

career in the secondary school in Belgaum, from where he matriculated in 1924. He joined the Karnatak College, Dharwar, where he passed through a socially and economically disastrous period and so transferred himself to Rajaram College, Kolhapur, from where he took his B.A. degree in Mathematics (1929). Throughout his educational career, Naik was known for three things : his voracious reading, not only of books on the subjects in the curriculum but also of those which had little to do with it; helping other students in their studies, occasionally to support himself, but mainly for the fun of teaching and the joy in helping the less advanced students; and his extremely versatile interests which included such diverse fields as Mathematics, History, Sanskrit, English Literature and the social sciences. His college contemporaries often tell juicy little anecdotes about how Naik, professedly a student of mathematics, conducted B.A. classes in English literature while he himself was reading in the Inter Arts, and the attendance far surpassed what the regular professor of the subject ever hoped to attract. Extremely energetic, rebellious, sharp wined, endowed with a keen sense of humour, bubbling with geniality, writing and reciting poetry, he became a great favourite with his classmates and even with some perceptive professors.

#### THE FORMATIVE YEARS (1930-37)

In 1930, the restless young Naik gave up his newly landed job on the staff of Rajaram College in order to join the Civil Disobedience Movement. He was arrested and interned in the Bellary jail for more than a year. For him this was a valuable period of introspection and planning the future. He decided to devote the rest of his life to the education and service of the rural people. He got a chance to work as Chief Orderly in the jail hospital and studied medicine in a very practical way. For Naik, this constituted an additional advantage of his incarceration and along with education, health became his other and equally important interest. Until the end, these twin interests continued to propel his work.\*

It may be mentioned here that his original name was V.H. Ghotge. He adopted the pseudonym, J.P. Naik, while doing underground work in the Civil Disobedience Movement. It stuck to him in jail; and when he came out, he found it more convenient to continue with it, especially as it marked a break with the past and indicated the beginning of a new career. So, he had this change confirmed officially.

On coming out of jail in 1932, he went to the village of Uppin-Betigeri in Dharwar district where he engaged himself in teaching in a primary school, conducting a dispensary, and promoting Khadi work. During this period, he started adult education classes and guided the villagers in organising activities for improving their socio-economic conditions. The villagers gladly supported him, each house taking its turn to give him one meal of *jowar bhakri* and a bowl of curds. For his other needs, which were extremely few, they took out a collection of about Rs. 5/- (five) per month. Naik used to describe this as one of the happiest and most formative periods of his life because it was during this period that he acquired a real insight into the Indian society and its problems. The pioneering character of his work and his outstanding achievements won him the Sir Fredrick Sykes Village Improvement Shield for Uppin Betigeri in 1937.

#### NON OFFICIAL WORKER AT THE STATE LEVEL (1937-40)

A new direction to his life opened out when the first Congress Government was formed in the old Bombay State in 1937 with the late Mr. B. G. Kher as Chief Minister and Mr. Morarji Desai as Revenue Minister. He was invited to be a member of the State Boards of Primary and Adult Education and to help the new Government to develop innovative programmes of educational development. Thus began his career as a non-official educationist at the State level. His achievements in the field of primary and adult education between 1937 and 1940 are regarded as outstanding and by themselves form a landmark in the history of education. It was also during this period that he came in contact with and became a friend and a close associate of leading non officials like D. R. Gadgil (and later his two colleagues N. V. Sovani and V. M. Dandekar), R. V. Parulekar, S. R. Bhagwat, M. V. Donde, R. D. Choksi, Godavari Parulekar and M. R. Paranjape. He also developed close working relations with many senior officers of the Bombay Education Department like D. C. Pavate, Syed Nurullah, L. R. Desai, N. R. Trivedi, S. R. Tawde, Sulabha Panandikar, S. S. Bhandarkar and others. Eventually some of these became his lifelong friends and gave him assistance and encouragement to develop his ideas and programmes. During this period, he established the Dharwar Prathamik Shikshana Mandal



which conducted about 30 primary schools in the neglected and backward areas of Dharwar Taluka. In course of time, these schools were handed over to the District School Board for maintenance.

#### THE KOLHAPUR DAYS (1940-47)

Another phase of hectic and extremely significant activity began in Naik's career in 1940. Rao Bahadur P. C. Patil, who was then Education Minister of the princely state of Kolhapur, invited him to assist in the educational reconstruction of the State which had been placed under the administration of a Regency Council after the death of its ruler, Chhatrapati Rajaram Maharaj. Naik started his work as a part time educational adviser but soon rose to the position of Development Secretary. He became an official and administrator of an unusual type who took no salary but worked for about eighteen hours a day. Taking a comprehensive view of education and development, he reorganised not only educational services but modernised the entire administration of the state and launched several programmes for improving communications, water supply, industry, agriculture, irrigation, power, health, cultural life and practically everything that concerned human welfare within the state, thus more than anticipating the Community Development programmes which were to take shape in the country after Independence. On this vast canvas of activities, what stood out most strikingly, was his extremely imaginative work in the planning and improvement of the city of Kolhapur, the organisation of a novel but simple scheme of village medical aid which anticipates the bare-foot doctor concept, and his formulation of a fifteen-year development plan for the state of Kolhapur which was the first and probably the only attempt of the type in those days. In Kolhapur, Naik acquired another set of devoted friends who worked with him closely and helped him unreservedly. These included Rao Bahadur P. C. Path, E. W. Perry and Sir Thomas Austin who were Prime Ministers of the State, N. V. (Baburao) Joshi, D. S. Mane and above all, Prabhakarpant Korgaonkar. This very fruitful period, however, ended in 1947 when the Regency administration was dissolved. The new Maharaja who came into power decided to terminate Naik's

services for reasons of his own which ironically enough, he chose to state as 'laziness' and 'dereliction of duty'!

#### INDIAN INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION (1948-59)

Released from administrative burdens, Naik became a life worker of the Korgaonkar Trust in Kolhapur which he continued till the end. In 1948, he shifted to Bombay where, in collaboration with R. V. Parulekar, T. K. N. Menon, V. V. Kamat, A. R. Dawood, N. P. Samant and C. D. Barfivalla, he established the Indian Institute of Education. It was then, and still continues to be, the only institution of its type in the country. It proved extremely useful in stimulating post graduate and research work in education in Bombay State and brought out several valuable publications. Naik, however, was not content with only Bombay based educational activities. The pull of the rural areas led him to establish Shri Mouni Vidyapeeth, a rural institute, at Gargoti in Kolhapur District. Here he had the benefit of working with Acharya S. J. Bhagwat who greatly influenced his ideas not only of educational reconstruction but of social development as well. It was also during this period that he met Dr. Chitra Naik (1948) and later married her (1955). She brought peace, mellowness, and stability in his life, changed it almost totally in all respects and improved both the range and quality of his work beyond recognition.

#### UNION MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1959-73)

The next phase of his life again made him an official and administrator when, in 1959, the late Dr. K. G. Saiyidain who was then Education Secretary with the Government of India and Dr. K. L. Shrimali, then Union Education Minister, invited him to Delhi. After a good deal of hesitation, he accepted the invitation. He was not sure what he would achieve but he was determined that he would continue his chosen style of life and would not allow himself to be corrupted by the influence of the capital. Throughout his career in Delhi, therefore, Naik had refused to accept a salary and maintained himself on his small earnings from lectures, books and other writings. He first worked as Adviser (Primary Education) and then in several other capacities till he

became Member Secretary of the Education Commission (1964-66). He re-joined the Ministry as Adviser in 1966 and retired from active responsibilities in 1973. However, he continued to be Member-Secretary of the Central Advisory Board of Education and assisted the Ministry in the development of several programmes. He had the rare opportunity of working with nine Education Ministers: K. L. Shrimali, Humayun Kabir, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, M. C. Chagla, Triguna Sen, V. K. R. V. Rao, Siddharth Shankar Ray, Nurul Hasan and Pratap C. Chunder. As his good fortune would have it, all these Ministers trusted him and gave him full support. His work in Delhi brought him the opportunity to work with the State Governments to many of whom he became a formal or informal adviser. This period also marked his close association with the Planning Commission and especially with its successive Deputy Chairmen and members in charge of education. Naik's work assumed a national scope and character and his circle of friends widened in proportion. It included leading educationists and thinkers in all parts of the country, State Education Ministers, Secretaries and Directors of Education, and top ranking officials of the Central Government. Dr. D. S. Kothari who was Chairman of the Indian Education Commission considerably influenced Naik's thinking. Naik used to mention this gratefully. During this period, he had an opportunity to work with G. Parthasarathi, B. D. Nag Choudhury and Moonis Raza in building up the Jawaharlal Nehru University. He looked upon all these friendships with particular pride.

#### THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH (1967-78)

Concurrently with the work he was doing for the Ministry of Education, Naik had the unique opportunity to work as Chief Executive of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, an autonomous organisation of a national status. In November 1967, he was requested to implement the report of the V. K. R. V. Rao Committee on Social Science Research. Going through all the preliminary paces he was able to have the Indian Council of Social Science Research established in February 1969. He was then requested to become its first Member Secretary. He agreed to do so on a provisional basis till the Council was in a position to find someone else for the post. Due to various reasons beyond his

control, this short term assignment got prolonged year after year. But in 1977, he firmly informed the Council that he would in no case continue in the post beyond 31 March 1978 and the Council finally agreed to release him. The manner in which he built up the Council during its infant years is one of the finest tributes to Naik's commitment to scholarship, creative research and his vision about the future. Naik claimed that his nine years in the Council were of immense value for his personal development. During this period, he had the privilege of working under three distinguished chairmen, viz., Professor D. R. Gadgil, Professor M. S. Gore and Professor Rajni Kothari. He also had the opportunity to work with valued friends like Professor M. L. Dantwala, Professor D. T. Lakdawala, Professor M. N. Srinivas, Professor S. C. Dube, Professor K. N. Raj, Professor S. Chakravarty, Professor Ravi Matthai, Dr. Kamla Chowdhury, Professor V. S. Vyas, Professor Durganand Sinha and others.

#### THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION (1978-81)

On retirement from the position of Member Secretary of the Indian Council of Social Science Research in 1978, Naik turned his attention once again to the development of the Indian Institute of Education which he described as a dream that had floated into his vision in 1948 but still had to unfold itself fully. The re entry of Naik into the revival of the Institute transformed not only its original objectives but its total style of working. It became a significant innovation in institution building for achieving the goals of education for a modernising society. He visualised that in its new shape, "the major concern of the Institute will be to relate education meaningfully to the life, needs and aspirations of the people, to unravel the links between education and development, to promote the study of science and technology and especially the spread of science among the people and the cultivation of a rational, scientific temper, to create greater equality of educational opportunity, to increase the access of the underprivileged groups to education, and to use it as an instrument for making them aware of themselves and of the social reality around them, and helping them to organise themselves with a view to solving their day to day problems and improving their standard of living." To achieve this purpose, the Institute

was guided by him to lay special emphasis on working outside the formal educational system partly to educate public opinion and partly to bring pressure on the system as well as on working with progressive elements within 'the system in order to promote significant innovations and experimentation in education interrelated with development. He outlined a Five Year Plan for the Institute (1978-83), giving high priority to programmes of finding alternatives in educational development and building up collaborative resources throughout the country as well as linkages abroad, to the extent possible, and combining the efforts of a large number of intellectuals and social workers in this challenging enterprise. With his robust health and tremendous mental energy which often put to shame many of his juniors, he was confident of building up this pulsating dream to a self-sustaining level within a span of five years. After this was done, he thought he could turn to his other favourite dream, that of stepping into the villages once again to recapture the joy of being a free lance planner and reformer, even as he had been in his youthful days at Uppin Betigeri. When he contracted cancer in December 1980, he trimmed down the dreams. Still, he had hoped for a year or too of remission in which he would struggle to achieve the major substance of the first drama.

### WRITINGS

Naik was a fine scholar and at the same time a humanist. His compulsive concern for the education of the poor stimulated most of his writings on education. Universalisation of elementary education, therefore, was his main theme on which variations were constructed from the viewpoint of the historian, planner, administrator, researcher and a sensitive social worker fired with a missionary zeal, all of whom made up the curious amalgam that constituted Naik's personality. When he delivered a lecture on elementary education his statistics were impeccable and planning proposals most rational, but the tears that welled up in his eyes when he talked of the deprivation of the poor, humanised the disciplined scholar within him. His writings invariably reflect the same characteristics. He drew naturally on his personal experience of having belonged to the rural poor and having worked among them as a primary and adult educator, to build

a philosophy of his own for educating them. But his theoretical formulations unfailingly resulted into practical propositions like multipoint entry and part time non formal education relevant to the learner's circumstances. In 1942, his first book on the subject, *Studies in Primary Education*, put forward a programme which would have, in his opinion; enabled the country to provide universal primary education for all children in about ten years. He elaborated this thought in several subsequent publications and particularly in *Elementary Education in India: The Unfinished Business* (1963) which was written when he received the Dadabhai Naoroji Award. A further development of his ideas got expression in *Elementary Education: A Promise to Keep* (1975) and *Some Perspectives on Non formal Education* (1977) which the radical thinker Ivan Illich considers to be the best book he has so far come across on the subject.

Educational history was Naik's first love. When he started working in villages in 1932, he began hunting for original sources on the development of education in India. He was so fascinated by what he found that he decided to write a history of education in the British period. Collaborating with his friend Syed Nurullah, he wrote in 1944 the first and most comprehensive history of modern Indian education. This was revised in 1951 and has become a classic on the subject and is used all over the world. Naik also published a shorter version of this book for students which is now in the sixth edition. In spite of his pressing duties Naik persisted in his search for original sources and brought out, along with collaborators, two volumes of selections from old educational records.

Ever since he started writing on education, planning, right from the institutional to the national level, was the theme of several of his publications. Over the last two years, his predilection for planning was turning towards finding alternatives to the existing system of education. This is apparent in his several essays and particularly in *Equality, Quality and Quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education* (1976). What amazed Naik's associates was not only the innovative ideas he generated but their irrefutable statistical and research base. His original training in mathematics was absorbed into his being and the amount of statistics he could produce from memory at

appropriate times was a marvel. When he drafted the Report of the Indian Educational Commission (1964-66) his capacity to bring about the marriage of relevant statistics with appropriate ideas won him everybody's admiration.

#### COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS

Writings of reports was a very peculiar hobby which Naik had become addicted to as a consequence of his membership of several committees and commissions. He justified this addiction by pointing out that if new ideas could be woven into the recommendations of official committees and commissions, they stood a fair chance of becoming concrete proposals for official action. The committees he worked on were varied and numerous, beginning in 1937 with the Provincial Boards of Primary Education and Adult Education in Bombay. Some of the significant committees on which he worked were: the Kher Committee on relationship between State Governments and local bodies in relation to the administration of primary education; the National Committee on the Education of Women of which Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh was Chairman; the Primary Education Integration Committee of the old Bombay State of which he himself was Chairman; the Primary Education Commission of the Rajasthan State of which also he was Chairman; the Education Committee of the J & K State; and the First Review Committee of the NCERT. He was also, as stated already, an active member of the Central Advisory Board of Education and continued to be its Member Secretary since 1967 until his last days. The monumental report of the Indian Education Commission *Education and National Development*—which he drafted as its Member Secretary has been internationally recognised as a brilliant document.

On retirement from the Indian Council of Social Science Research in 1978, Naik joined the Indian Institute of Education as Honorary Professor. He was also the Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute. He had undertaken two important projects on which he was working. These were a study of "Educational Reform in India, 1921-80: An Evaluation" and proposals for "Educational Development in India (1980-200)". During 1978-80, he completed two outstanding books:

*The National Education Policy, 1947-78, and Education Commission and After* (since published).

#### INSTITUTION BUILDER

All along, Naik had been an assiduous institution builder. In every phase of his own development, he threw himself wholeheartedly into constructing structures for further development of ideas and programmes. The Dharwar Prathamik Shikshan Prasar Mandal, the Indian Institute of Education, Shri Mouni Vidyapeeth, and the Indian Council of Social Science Research are such landmarks. In his quiet but effective way, he also assisted a large number of his friends and colleagues in establishing or developing their own institutions. But to Naik, building up individuals was even more important than building up institutions. Throughout his life, therefore, he sought out and helped young and deserving persons. The number of individuals he thus assisted has been large. He took a great joy in the fact that many of them were playing important roles in different walks of life.

#### HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

Naik was a man of versatile interests. Problems of health and medical services, especially for the rural areas, were his special interest. In October 1980 he completed drafting the now famous report on the health situation in India, viz. *Health for All*. This emerged from a programme he had initiated in the ICSSR, called "Alternatives in Health". His collaborators in this task were outstanding medical men like Dr. G. Gopalan, Dr. V. Ramalingaswamy, Dr. P. N. Wahi, Dr. P. N. Chuttani, Dr. N. H. Antic, and Dr. Raj Arole. He was the first, non medical person to deliver the *Lakshmanswami Mudaliar Oration* at the All India Medical Conference held at Chandigarh in 1977. It was mainly this Oration that formed the basis for the report *Health for All*. He was a member of the Srivastava Committee which made a breakthrough in the traditional thinking on health services and of the Gopalan Committee on Drug Addiction. In collaboration with his friends from the field of health, Naik hoped to assist in the formulation of a realistic alternative policy for the development of health and medical services for the country.



## INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In 1950, when UNESCO invited him to write a study of compulsory primary education in India and to participate in a regional seminar on compulsory primary education held at Bombay in 1952, Naik's activities crossed their national boundaries. In 1959, he was invited again as consultant for the development of a UNESCO plan for the provision of universal elementary education in Asia. The plan he then prepared was formally adopted at the Karachi meeting of Asian Member States held in 1960 and came to be known as the *Karachi Plan*. This was further, discussed in a subsequent meeting held in Tokyo, in 1962, where he was present as a UNESCO consultant. It was at the Karachi meeting that Naik first met Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiaiah. Soon they became friends and between 1960 and 1972 he had several opportunities of working with Dr Adiseshiaiah in UNESCO's educational programmes. The meeting of African States in Addis Ababa in 1961, when a plan for the development of African education was adopted and the meeting of the Arab States held in Beirut for a similar purpose in 1967, were important for reshaping Naik's own thinking. His outstanding contributions at such meetings won international respect for his work and he began to be invited by international bodies to participate in discussions on educational development and planning. Among these, mention may be made of the International Institute of Educational Planning, Paris, and the Dam Hammaraskjold Foundation, Uppsala (Naik was a member of its international Advisory Committee). Naik was one of the few educationists in India who have had large international contacts and whose advice was often sought by international agencies and friendly foreign countries. He had many close friends in the international community. These include Professor Gunnar Myrdal, Professor Ivan Illich, Professor Mary Jean Bowman, Professor C. Arnold Anderson, Dr. Harold Howe II, Professor Mrs. Rudolph, Professor H. L. Elvin, Mr. Majid Rahnema, Mr. J. F. McDougall, Mr. Asher Deleon, Professor Cyril E. Beeby, and Professor Ian Lister. Some of these eminent personalities contributed to a rich Festschrift volume *The Social Context of Education Essays in Honour of Professor P. Naik*. The volume was prepared when Naik completed seven decades of a highly productive life. Naik was a Consultant to the

World Bank also on educational matters. He was recently invited by the Regional Office of UNESCO, Bangkok, to hold discussions with the UNESCO staff about the future of education in Asia. During his last visit (November 1980) he discussed and outlined a proposal for long term educational planning in the Asian region.

After his return from Bangkok, around December 1980, it was discovered that he had contracted cancer of the oesophagus. His health began to fail. But it could not affect his strong frame of mind or his firm determination to work, which had won him the *Padmabhushan* award from the Government of India in 1974. He was working till the end of July 1981 on his favourite projects on 'Educational Reform' and Educational Development in India (1980–2000). Naik passed away in the early hours of Sunday, 80 August 1981. He would have entered his seventy fifth year on 5 September 1981.

Those who knew Naik from his school and college days often wondered how he could bring himself to spend nearly nineteen years in Delhi which, in style and spirit, was so far removed from rural life. Naik had always been a villager through and through in food, clothes, easy *camaraderie* with the simple and the indigent and disregard of what is known as social polish and highbrow etiquette. But Delhi, though not quite to his taste, contributed much toward the widening of his intellectual interests and contacts with other creative minds. Time and again, however, he expressed his longing to return to the rural setting. He also set his heart on building up the Indian Institute of Education at Pune, which he did, and on developing his favourite theme of *Alternatives in Education and Development*. Eventually, he hoped to live and work in a village just as he did in the first flush of his youthful idealism. There, undisturbed by the city's jar, he might have once again found a sure outlet for his multipronged energies which sought to build man and his environment together into a blend where rational vision blissfully merges with the poetic, and where the simple joys of life conquer the craving for possessions and power.

Times changed and so did Naik while garnering insights and wisdom from whatever he experienced and whomsoever he met. But it was not difficult for his friends to see that, if left to himself,

he would have entered another Uppin Betigeri even after a crowded interregnum of forty eight years, mixing with the villagers, talking excitedly about plans for change, sitting on the floor of a hut regaling himself on *jowar* bread and curds, entirely unmindful of how he looked in soiled *khadi* shorts and a shirt with an irreparable rent in its back. That was the real Naik, known simply as 'J.P.' to his friends who are legion.

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## Preface

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It is indeed a privilege and honour for us to have been assigned the task of collating the writings and articles of the founder of various educational systems which are in vogue in India, and even abroad, Prof. J.P.Naik. Prof. Naik had recognised as early as in 1940s that India is a vast country with large population of multiple caste, class, regional and religious dimensions, and as such a single educational system would not suit it. In order to provide education for the entire population he therefore advocated various types of educational systems. However, besides education, he was also concerned with the 'health programmes' for the entire population in general, but more so for the rural population who is deprived of even the basic necessities of health care facilities. Prof. J.P.Naik was well known to educationists all over the world as an outstanding visionary, planner and organiser. He was involved in setting up various institutions such as Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA/NUEPA), Mauni Vidyapeeth, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Indian Institute of Education (IIE), and others. He was the most outstanding single individual having the greatest influence on education reforms for developing countries in general and India in particular.

Prof. Naik's early life was full of struggles. He came from a poor rural family, and would have been dragged into the rural agricultural trap; but for his intelligence, love for education, and strong desire to help people, and our country, by devising methods of appropriate systems of education for rural as well as

urban folks. He had a brilliant academic career, and loved literature as well as mathematics. It was in his early college education years that he participated actively in India's liberation movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and served a prison sentence. It was during his prison term that he gained good knowledge of medicine and medical practice, and helped the inmates. He launched the programme of 'Education for All, Health for All' and made every effort to make it successful. However, because of the circumstances prevailing then he had limited success. The eminent educationist Prof. A.R.Kamat writes about him, "In his last work, 'Education Commission and After', undertaken during the very last phase of his life, Naik frankly admits that the framework adopted in the Education Commission Report about education and development had basic weaknesses, since it did not even refer to the extreme poverty and deprivation in Indian Society, and the highly unequal distribution of earnings, wealth and political power -the fundamental problems of Indian Society, which need to be faced equally.... Naik's departure from the Indian educational scene has created a large void which cannot easily be filled. In a sense, it was the end of an epoch. It is for the on-going generations of Indian educationists to work for his idea of radical reconstruction of Indian education with a clearer perspective". It was indeed a great pleasure for one of us (ASB) to be his disciple.

'Collected Articles of Prof. J.P. Naik' has been compiled in three volumes. The first volume deals with his contributions in the fields of Primary Education, Elementary Education, Higher Education and Education for Rural Development. Volume No. II contains his contributions in the area of Policy Studies, and Volume No. III contains monographs concerning his contributions in educational development for scheduled castes and tribes, and his reflections and assessment for the future.

We are very thankful to the librarians of various institutions such as NCERT, NIEPA, ICSSR, JNU, IIE and others for providing us the necessary assistance in collecting the articles, speeches and reports for inclusion in these three volumes. One of us (ASB) is particularly grateful to Smt. Nirmal Malhotra, Librarian of NIEPA for personal help in procuring the documents from other institutions as well. Some of the documents were in the form of photocopies of articles whose originals could not be traced. Some

of the articles had to be retyped as well as scanned to minimise errors in their reproduction. We are grateful to Smt. Medha Sonale, Smt. Hemangi Katre, Smt. Sujata Joshi and Shri Aswad Purohit for their assistance in suitably consolidating the manuscript.

We are also grateful to Dr. Ambika Jain, Director, Centre for Educational Studies (CES), and a former student of Prof. J.P.Naik, for all the assistance she provided.

We are also extremely grateful to the members of the Executive Council and the members of the Board of Trustees of Indian Institute of Education, for the confidence they showed in assigning this task to us. In particular, we are extremely grateful to Dr. Chitra Naik, Chairperson, Board of Trustees of Indian Institute of Education (IIE), and Dr. Shankarrao R. Gowarikar, Secretary General of IIE and Chairman of the J.P.Naik Birth Centenary Celebrations Committee for their continued guidance, assistance and encouragement for the completion of this project.

We specially appreciate Shri Madhukar Patil for all the assistance that he and his staff provided in the preparation of the manuscript, including getting a part of the manuscript scanned, and the necessary corrections required. The cover page of all the three volumes is also designed by Shri Patil.

Finally, on behalf of the editors as well as our Institute we express our sincere and special gratitude to Sudarshan Kcherry and Authorspress to publish these volumes in a record time.

*Editors*

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**Education of the Weaker Sections  
(Monographs)**

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## Role of Government of India in Education (1963)\*

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One of the major educational controversies today refers to the role of the Government of India in education. *Prima facie* education is a state subject. Entry 11 of the List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution lays down that "education including universities, subjects to the provisions of Entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and Entry 25 of List III" should be a state subject. But there are some other provisions in the Constitution itself which contradict the almost absolute delegation of authority suggested by this entry in the state list; and what is even more significant, the central government has since shown an unprecedented activity and interest in the field of education ever since the attainment of independence. In 1947, it appointed a University Commission and has since been engaged in evolving common policies in higher education such as the introduction of the three-year degree course. This was followed by a Secondary Education Commission which tried to introduce a number of uniform trends in a field where the centre has had hardly any constitutional authority.

No Commission was appointed in the field of primary education. But the scheme of basic education was declared to have gone beyond the stage of experimentation and was also adopted as the national pattern at the Elementary stage. The interest of the central government in Technical education and scientific research has been too obvious to need any illustration. Besides, an innumerable number of committees and reports have tried to iron out an all-India thought, policy and programme in almost every

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\*Government of India, 1963

sector of education. Of still greater importance is the revival of the Central grants for education which had been discontinued in 1918-1919.

In the period of post-war reconstruction as well as in the first and second Plans, substantial grants were given to the states towards the implementation of a variety of educational programmes. With the adoption of the technique of Five Year Plans and the creation of the Planning Commission, the real authority to determine policies, priorities and programmes has now passed on from the states to the centre in most sectors of development; and as a corollary to this major shift in all development activity, it is alleged that educational progress in the states is now more dependent upon the financial allocations and priorities decided at the centre by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education than upon any decision taken by the states at their own level. In short, the trend to centralisation in policymaking in all fields of education has been the most dominating note of this period and it has had hardly any parallel in our educational history except for the brief spell under Lord Curzon.

The reactions at the centre and in the states to these developments have been extremely divergent. On the one hand, the state governments have grown more and more critical and resentful of this policy. They claim that education is essentially their preserve; that they understand their educational needs much better than the centre itself; and that the attempt of the centre to cut into their sphere has generally done more harm than good to the cause of education. They also plead that Central grants should be placed at the disposal of the states without any strings attached and they are extremely critical of the manner in which their proposals are scrutinised, modified or amended by the centre while grants are being sanctioned. On the other hand, the centre also is not happy about the situation. It has assumed the role of dominant partner without having any constitutional authority to compel the states to conform to its dictates and without even having a machinery to report on the implementation of its programmes through the state governments.

Its main complaint is that its genuine desire to help the states is misunderstood as interference; that the reasonable minimum

safeguards which are and should be adopted in all financial sanctions are misinterpreted as 'indirect pressures' or as 'leading strings'; that the states do not appreciate the larger interests of education underlying the policies and programmes proposed by it; that the states do not often implement the sanctioned schemes in the manner in which they ought to be implemented; and that it often finds itself helpless to enforce the directives given by it. During the last ten years, therefore, education has developed practically into a 'joint responsibility' of the central and state governments. But unfortunately, neither partner is satisfied with the present position and each one of them has a number of charges to make against the other. It would be no exaggeration to say that it is this conflict and contradiction in the present position which is at the root of most of our administrative difficulties and it is for the solution of these troubles that the role of the Government of India in education has to be properly defined as early as possible.

In order to pose correctly the complex problems involved in this issue and to arrive at some tentative solutions, it is necessary to consider the problem from three different points of view. The *first* approach would be historical and it would show how the role of the Government of India in education has varied from time to time and why; the *second* would start with the analysis of the relevant constitutional provisions and explain what the Constitution expects the Government of India to do in education; and the *third* would compare and contrast the role of the Government of India in education with that of some other federal governments in the world. It is only in the light of the findings of these three specific studies that it may finally be possible to draw up some kind of a picture of the role of the government in education as it ought to be.

## II

### HISTORICAL SURVEY (1773-1950)

1773-1833: The Government of India may be said to have been born with the Regulating Act of 1773 which designated the Governor in Council of Bengal as the Governor-General in Council of Bengal and gave him a limited authority over the Governors of Bombay and Madras. This authority was

substantially increased by the Pitt's India Act of 1784. But prior to 1833, education in India had made but little progress (it had, in fact, been accepted as a state responsibility only as late as in 1813) and the Governor-General of Bengal did little to control or direct the educational policies of the other parts of India. At this time, therefore, 'education' may be said to have been a 'provincial' matter, subject only to the distant coordinating authority of the Court of Directors in England.

*1833 to 1870:* The Charter Act of 1833 introduced a unitary system of government. Under this arrangement, all revenues were raised in the name of the central government and all expenditure needed its approval. The provincial governments could not spend even one rupee or create a post, however small, without the approval of the government of India which also was the only lawmaking body for the country as a whole. In other words, all executive, financial and legislative authority was exclusively vested in the central government and the provinces merely acted as its agents.

As may easily be imagined, education thus became a purely 'central' subject in 1833 and the entire authority in education and responsibility for it came to be vested in the Government of India. This excessively centralised system, which became more and more inconvenient as education began to expand and the territories of the company began to grow, remained in force till 1870. As administrative difficulties began to grow, some small powers were delegated to provincial governments from time to time and their proposals, as those of the 'authority on the spot' carried great weight. But the character of the system remained unaltered throughout the period and education continued to be a central subject in every sense of the term.

*1870 to 1921:* In 1870, however, Lord Mayo introduced a system of administrative decentralisation under which the provincial governments were made responsible for all expenditure on certain services – inclusive of education – and were given, for that purpose, a fixed grant-in-aid and certain sources of revenue. Education thus became a 'provincial subject' for purpose of day-to-day administration. But it has to be remembered that the central government still retained large powers of control over it. For instance, both the central and

provincial legislatures had concurrent powers to legislate on all educational matters. It was because of this concurrent legislative jurisdiction, that the Government of India could pass the Indian Universities Act in 1904 and could also legislate for the establishment of new universities.

Of the new universities established during this period of British India, only one – Lucknow – was established by an Act of the U.P. Legislature. All others – Punjab (1882), Allahabad (1887), Banaras (1915), Patna (1917), Aligarh (1920) and Dacca (1920) were established by the central legislature. It was for the same reason that Gokhale could then introduce his Bill for compulsory Primary education in India in the central legislature, although it failed to pass. In administrative matters, the sanction of the Government of India was needed to the creation of all new posts above a given salary and in 1897, the Indian Education Service was created and placed in charge of all the important posts in the Provincial Education Departments.

In financial matters, the powers reserved to the central government were very wide. Its approval was required to all expenditure above a given figure and to the overall budget of the provinces. These large powers of control and supervision were justified on the ground that the provincial governments were responsible to the British parliament through the Government of India. But whatever the cause, the net result of these powers was to make education not so much a 'provincial subject' as a 'concurrent subject' with two reservations: (1) the authority delegated to the provincial governments was fairly large; and (2) the interest shown by the Government of India in education was very uneven and depended mostly upon the personalities of the Governor-Generals – a Ripon or a Curzon could make education look almost like a 'central subject' while, at other times, it became almost a 'provincial subject'.

It must also be noted that the interest and authority of the Government of India was not restricted to any particular field, although it naturally showed very great interest in University education. It appointed the Indian Universities Commission of 1917-19. As stated earlier it passed the Indian Universities Act 1904 and also incorporated most of the new universities created in this field. It sanctioned large grants-in-aid for the improvement



of secondary and primary education and for the introduction of science teaching. It also reviewed and laid down policies in such matters as the education of girls, or Anglo-Indians and establishment of schools of art. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 and the Government Resolutions on Educational Policy issued in 1904 and 1913 covered almost every aspect of education. In short, the view taken in this period was that education is a subject of *national* importance and that the Government of India must hold itself responsible for the formulation of overall educational policy; and this view was particularly strengthened in the period between 1900 and 1921 because educational developments were intimately connected with the growth of national consciousness and the struggle for Independence. The main function of a federal government in education – to decide national policies in education – was thus clearly understood and accepted during this period.

The need of expert technical advice in education at the Government of India level was also felt during this period and the post of a Director-General of Education – who was to be an educationist and not a civilian and whose duty it was to advise the Government of India on educational matters – was created by Lord Curzon and at the present time, when the very need of an advisory educational service at the centre is being challenged in certain quarters, it may be well to recall Lord Curzon's defence of the creation of this post:

My last topic is the desirability of creating a Director – General of Education in India. Upon this point I will give my opinions for what they may be worth. To understand the case we must first realise what the existing system and its consequences are. Education is at present a subheading of the work of the Home Department, already greatly overstrained. When questions of supreme educational interest are referred to us for decision, we have no expert to guide us, no staff trained to the business, nothing but the precedents recorded in our files to fall back upon. In every other department of scientific knowledge – sanitation, hygiene, forestry, mineralogy, horse-breeding, explosives – the Government possess expert advisers. In education, the most complex and most momentous of all, we have none. We have to rely upon the opinions of officers who are constantly

changing, and who may very likely never have had any experience of education in their lives. Let me point to another anomaly. Under the system of decentralisation that has necessarily and, on the whole, rightly been pursued, we have little idea of what is happening in the provinces, until, once every five years, a gentleman comes round, writes for the Government of India, the *Quinquennial Review*, makes all sorts of discoveries of which we know nothing and discloses short comings which in hot haste we then proceed to redress. How and why this systemless system has been allowed to survive for all these years it passes my wit to determine. Now that we realise it, let us put an end to it for ever. I do not desire an Imperial Education Department, packed with pedagogues, and crusted with officialism. I do not advocate a Minister or Member of Council for Education. I do not want anything that will turn the Universities into a Department of the State or fetter the Colleges or Schools with bureaucratic handcuffs. But I do want some one at headquarters who will prevent the Government of India from going wrong, and who will help us to secure that community of principle and of aim without which we go drifting about like a deserted bulk on chopping seas. I go further, and say that the appointment of such an officer, provided that he be himself an expert and an enthusiast, will check the perils of narrowness and pedantry, while his custody of the leading principles of Indian Education will prevent those vagaries of policy and sharp revulsions of action which distract our administration without reforming it. He would not issue orders to the local governments; but he would be to advise the Government of India. Exactly the same want was felt in America, where decentralisation and devolution are even more keenly cherished, and had been carried to greater lengths, than here; and it was met by the creation of a Central Bureau of Education in 1867, which has since then done invaluable work in coordinating the heterogeneous application of common principles. It is for consideration whether such an official in India as I have suggested should, from time to time, summon a representative Committee or Conference, so as to keep in touch with the local jurisdictions, and to harmonise our policy as a whole.

The creation of this post, and the further creation of a separate education department in the Government of India in 1910 and the establishment of a Central Bureau of Education in 1915 made it

possible to develop some other federal functions in education. For example, it is the duty of Government of India to collect educational data from the Provinces and to publish periodical reviews on the progress of education in the country – the *Clearing House function*. The Indian Education Commission (1882) recommended that the Central Government should bring out *Quinquennial Reviews* on the progress of education in India. Consequently, the first *Quinquennial Review* on the progress of education in India was published in 1886-87 and subsequent reviews were brought out in 1891-92, 1896-97, 1901-02, 1905-06, 1911-12, 1916-17 and 1921-22. Annual reviews of education were also published from 1913-14 onwards in all years in which the *Quinquennial Reviews* were not published.

Similarly, it is the duty of a Federal Government to carry out studies in educational problems (as part of its responsibility to provide leadership in educational thought) from time to time and to publish their findings. In particular, it is the responsibility of a federal government to study such educational developments in other countries as are likely to be help in developing education at home. That both these responsibilities were understood, acceptable and even fulfilled with a great competence in certain areas, can be seen from the publications issued by the Government of India during this period. Moreover, the Government of India also published reports on important events of the period. In short, the research and publications function of the federal government was fully accepted and established during the period under review.

The *coordinating function* of a federal government was also recognised during this period. A reference to that has already been made in the speech of Lord Curzon quoted above. It was he who convened the first Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction in India at Simla in 1901. Then started a regular practice of convening such Conferences for taking a periodical review of educational developments. An Educational Conference was held at Allahabad in 1911 and another Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction was held in 1917. With the passage of time, the need for such coordination was felt all the more keenly and a Central Advisory Board of Education was organised in 1920 with a view to assisting the provincial governments with expert advice.

Another function of a federal government to be recognised during this period was grant of financial assistance for educational development in the provinces. Reference has already been made to the financial decentralisation introduced by Lord Mayo in 1870. That system continued to be in force up to 1876-77 when a system of 'shared revenues' was introduced. Under this system, certain revenues were exclusively designated as 'Central' certain others were designed as exclusively 'Provincial'; and the remainder were designed as 'Divided' and their receipts were shared between the central and provincial governments according to an agreed contract which remained in force for a period of five years at a time. Thus the Quinquennial contracts were revised in 1882-83, 1891-92 and 1896-97. In 1904, they were declared to be *quasi-permanent*, i.e., not liable to be changed except in a grave emergency, and in 1912, they were declared as *permanent*. It will be seen that, under these financial arrangements, the entire expenditure on education was to be borne by the provincial governments within the resources allocated to them.

As may be easily imagined, these arrangements made the Provincial revenue fairly inelastic and they were unable to keep pace with the rapidly growing commitments of an expanding education system. The Government of India, therefore, started the practice of giving grants-in-aid to provincial governments for educational development over and above the agreed contract arrangements. Thus the fifth important function of the federal government, viz., *financial assistance*, also came to be accepted during this period. Fortunately, the period between 1900 and 1921 was a period of boom in world finances and the Government of India had large surpluses in its budgets. It was, therefore, comparatively easy to allocate a share of these surplus to the provincial government for expenditure on education. The magnitude of these grants was fairly large and it may also be stated that most of them were *specific purpose grants*, i.e. the Government of India decided that developmental policies to be adopted and earmarked the grants given for the implementation of specified approved policies. Only a few of these were *general grants* which were at the disposal of the provincial governments for expenditure in any manner they liked.

1921 to 1947: Between 1870 and 1921, therefore, the day-to-day administration of education was delegated to the provincial governments and the Government of India continued to function as a federal government with five distinct functions which came to be recognised, *viz.*, the functions of (1) policy-making, (2) clearing house of information, (3) research and publications, (4) coordination and (5) financial assistance.

With the coming into force of the Government of India Act, 1919, however, the position changed completely. The basic idea underlying this Act was that the Government of India should continue to be responsible to the Secretary of State for India and that the functions of the provincial governments should be divided into two parts – the reserved part being responsible to the Government of India and the transferred part being under the control of elected Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislatures. As a corollary to this decision, it was also agreed that the Government of India should have very little or no control over the transferred departments because the Ministers could not be simultaneously responsible to the Government of India as well as to their elected legislatures. These were basic political decisions and it was rather unfortunate that the division of authority in education between the Government of India and the provincial government had to be made on these political considerations and not on the fundamental educational issues involved. One would have preferred that problems such as the following should have been raised and discussed on this occasion:

- 1) To what extent is education a national problem?
- 2) What should be the role of a federal government in education? and
- 3) What should be the relationship between the Government of India and the provincial governments in educational matters?

But, unfortunately, all such basic problems were ignored and the only questions discussed from a political angle were the following:

- 1) Should education be a transferred subject or not? and
- 2) What should be the control which Government of India should have over education?

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report suggested that the 'guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur, though serious, would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development. In pursuance of this principle, it was but natural to expect that education would be classed as a transferred subject, although one does not feel very happy to be hold that mistake in education are not really very important. It was, therefore, decided that, excepting for the following few reservations, education should be a provincial subject and transferred to the control of the Indian Ministers:

- 1) The Banaras Hindu University and such other new universities as may be declared to be all-India by the Governor-General –in-Council were excluded on the ground that these institutions were of an all-India character and had better be dealt with by the Government of India itself;
- 2) Colleges for Indian chiefs and educational institutions maintained by the Governor-General-in-Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or other public servants, or their children were also excluded on the ground that these institutes ought to be under the direct control of the Government of India; and
- 3) The education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans was treated as a provincial but a reserved subject.

The authority to legislate on the following subjects was reserved for the central legislature, mainly with a view to enabling the Government of India to take suitable action on the report of the Calcutta University Commission:

- a) Questions regarding the establishment, constitution and functions of new universities;
- b) Questions affecting the jurisdiction of any university outside its province; and
- c) Questions regarding the Calcutta University and the reorganisation of secondary education in Bengal (for a

period of five years only after the introduction of the reforms).

As a corollary to this decision, it was also decided that the Government of India should have no control over education in the Provinces.

Thus came about what the Hartog Committee has rightly described as the 'divorce' of the Government of India from education. As could easily be imagined, the results were far from happy. The central interest in education disappeared almost completely after 1921; and when the need for retrenchment arose in 1923, the first victims were (1) the Education Department of the Government of India which lost its independent existence and was amalgamated with other departments, (2) the Central Advisory Board of Education which was dissolved, and (3) the Central Bureau of Education which was closed down. The central grants to the provinces for educational developments also disappeared, even the few powers of legislation reserved under the Act of 1919 were not exercised, and the Government of India did little beyond the clearing house function of publishing the annual and *Quinquennial reviews* of the progress of education in India.

The Hartog Committee strongly criticised this unhappy position and said:

We are of opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate; and holding as we do, that education is essentially a national service, we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of the Central Government with this subject. We have suggested that the Government of India should serve as a centre of educational experience of the different provinces. But we regard the duties of the Central Government as going beyond that. We can not accept the view that it should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. It may be that some of the provinces, in spite of all efforts, will be unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose, and the Government of India should be constitutionally enabled to make good such financial deficiencies in the interests of India as a whole.

\* It is also interesting to know that, for some time after 1921, there was an outburst of strong provincial feelings and the divorce of the Government of India from education was even welcomed in some quarters. But it did not take the provincial governments long to realise that this was a mistake and that something had to be done to create a national agency and machinery for the development of education. It was, therefore, possible to revise the earlier decision and the Government of India revived the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1935; the Central Bureau of Education was also revived, on a recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board of Education, in 1937; and finally the old Education Department was also revived as a Ministry of Education in 1946. The decision of 1921 were, therefore, very largely undone by 1947.

Between 1935 and 1947, therefore, the role of the Government of India in education was again broadened and the several functions which had fallen into disuse between 1923 to 1935 were again resumed. For example, the coordinating function was resumed with great vigour and the central Advisory Board of Education addressed itself to the study and discussion of almost every field of educational activity and finally prepared, and presented to the nation, a plan for the educational development in India during the next 30 years (1944). The publication function was also resumed and the reconstituted Central Bureau brought out a large number of publications on different aspects of the educational problem in India. The clearing house function was continued and its extent and efficiency were improved. The only functions developed in the earlier period and not resumed now were two – research and financial assistance.

In spite of these limitations, however, the larger and more significant role that was now being played by the Government of India was appreciated all over the country; and the general feeling was that this role needed to be further strengthened and extended.

This brief historical survey of the role of the Government of India in education will show that it has passed through a number of stages. Prior to 1833, it had hardly any role to play; between 1833 and 1870, education was virtually a central subject; between 1870 and 1921, the day-to-day administration was vested in

\* Report, P. 346

provincial governments, but the Government of India discharged five distinct functions, *viz.*, the functions of policy-making, clearing house of information, research and publications, coordination and financial assistance; between 1921 and 1935, the wheels of the clock were turned back and there was an almost total divorce between education and the central government; but fortunately, more progressive policies were adopted after 1935 and the Government of India began to play, once again, a larger, and a more fruitful role in education.

### III

#### THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND IN ACTUAL PRACTICE (1950-60)

Soon after the attainment of Independence, the problem of the role of the Government of India in education came up for discussion again when the Constitution was being framed. The thinking of framers of the Constitution on this subject seems to have been influenced by two main considerations: (1) the general model adopted in the USA; and (2) The recommendations of the Hartog Committee. As in the USA, therefore, a fundamental decision was taken to treat education as a state subject and also to vest the residuary powers in education in the state governments by making a specific enumeration of powers reserved to the Government of India in this field. Entry 11 of List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, therefore, lays down that "education including universities, subject to the provisions of Entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and Entry 25 of List III" should be a State subject; and the entries which give authority to the Government of India in education were worded as follows:

#### List I: Union List

63. The institutions known at the commencement of this Constitution as the Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University, and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance.
64. Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by

Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.

65. Union agencies and institutions for:
  - a) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers; or
  - b) the promotion of special studies or research; or
  - c) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.
66. Coordination and determination of standards in institutions for Higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

#### List III: Concurrent List

25. Vocational and technical training of labour.

In respect of Primary education, however, the Constitution has made an exception on the lines recommended by the Hartog Committee. The intimate relationship between the provision of a minimum of free and compulsory education for all children and the successful working of a democracy which the Constitution decided to create, is obvious. The Constitution, therefore makes the following provision as a directive principle of State policy under Part IV:

45. The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.

The expression 'State' which occurs in this article is defined in Article 12 to include "the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India." The Federal Government is, therefore, under a constitutional obligation to participate in the programme of providing free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.

Similarly, the Constitution also makes it an obligatory responsibility of the Government of India to promote the educational interest of the weaker sections of the people and makes the following provision:

46. The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

The expression “weaker sections of the people”, as used in this article, is general and is *not* restricted to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes only. For example, it will obviously include women and consequently the development of the education of girls and women becomes a special responsibility of the Government of India. In the same way, the expression also means people living in those areas where economic and cultural development lags behind. This article, therefore, makes it a responsibility of the Government of India to bring about an equalisation of education opportunities in all parts of the country and, to that end, to give special assistance to the backward areas of states.

There is yet another provision in the Constitution which has an indirect but significant bearing upon the role of Government of India in education. Entry 20 of the List III is “Economic and Social Planning” and this implies that the Government of India has a constitutional responsibility for the economic and social development of the country as a whole. Now, it is a well-known sociological principle that economic and social development is intimately connected with education and it is in this sense that the White Paper on Education in the United Kingdom said: “Upon the education given to the children of this country, the future of this country depends.” It is not a function of the schools to define the objectives of a national economic and social planning although they can, and should, to some extent, direct and influence their definition. But once the objectives of economic and social planning are decided upon by the powers that be, education has a very important role to play in assisting the nation to realise objectives. For instance, the schools will never be able to decide whether democracy should or should not be a national way of life, whether socialism should or should not be accepted or whether rapid industrialisation should or should not be resorted to. But if the nation were to decide to accept these goals, education will

help very greatly in creating and stabilising a social order based on these values by developing the necessary aptitudes, skills and interests in the rising generation.

As Brubacher has observed, “schools can complete and consolidate a change decided elsewhere – whether by bullets or by ballots.” The implication is obvious: an authority like the Government of India, which is responsible for the economic and social planning of the country, cannot divest itself of a major responsibility in determining corresponding educational policies to realise its economic and social objectives. In spite of the limited direct authority which the Constitution gives to the Government of India, therefore, practices have actually grown up, as a part of the formulation and implementation of the Five Year Plans of the country, under which the major educational policies are being decided more at the centre than in the states and the distribution of resources to education in general and to the different sectors of education in particular, is becoming more a matter for a decision at the central level than at the State levels.

On a very close examination of all the provisions of the Constitution which have a bearing on education, one cannot help the feeling that there is an element of basic contradiction in the role which the Constitution attempts to assign to the Government of India in education. On the one hand, the Constitution takes the simple stand that education, with all residuary powers, is a state subject *except* for a few special aspects specified within the Constitution itself. But the real trouble starts when the enumeration of these ‘exceptions’ begins. For instance, free and compulsory education is made an obvious exception on account of its cost and significance and the Centre is given a specific responsibility for it (Art 45). Similarly, the responsibility of the centre to equalise educational opportunities between different areas or different sections of society had also to be recognised and duly provided for (Art 46). Then the responsibility of the Centre to safeguard the cultural interests of the minorities and to see that they have adequate facilities to receive at least primary education through their own mother – tongue (Art 350A) as well as the special responsibility of the centre to develop the national language (Art 351) had also to be provided for.

The need for a controlled development of higher education made it necessary to authorise the centre to coordinate and determine standards in universities and scientific, technical or research institutes (Entry 66 of List I) and, on account of such factors as high cost, difficulty of securing suitable personnel, the need to obtain foreign assistance, etc. scientific research, technical education, and the higher types of professional and vocational education had also to be assigned to the centre (Entries 64 and 65 of List I).

Certain educational problems which have a large significance at present such as securing of foreign assistance (in men, materials or money) for education, training of Indians abroad, relationship with international organisations like UNESCO, participation in bilateral or multi-lateral programmes of educational assistance like the Commonwealth Cooperation Scheme or the T. C. M. had also to be left to the Centre under Entries 10 and 12 of List I.

Finally, a very powerful means of central control was created when 'Economic and Social Planning' was made a concurrent responsibility (Entry 20 of List III). These exceptions are so large that they circumscribe the State authority for education very materially and make education look more like a 'joint' responsibility than like a state preserve. But this is not all. It has to be remembered that the Constitution was out to create a 'strong' centre. It has, therefore, rested most of the important resources in the Government of India and the result is that no state has adequate resources of its own to develop education – the costliest of welfare services. Consequently the centre, which controls the purse-strings, necessarily has the most dominating voice in the overall determination of policies, priorities and programmes. From this point of view, therefore, education begins to look, not only as a joint responsibility, but almost like a 'partnership' in which the Government of India plays the role of the 'Big Brother'. This implied constitutional role of the Government of India in education, therefore, is directly opposed to the explicit role as stated in Entry II of List II; and it is this basic contradiction inherent in the Constitutional provisions that leads to most of the controversies on the subject.

The situation is further complicated by another consideration. The role of a federal government in education is determined, not

so much by the provisions of the Constitution as by conventions and practices evolved through historical developments. Perhaps the finest example of this is the Constitution of the USA itself. As is wellknown, the tradition of local control in education is extremely strong in the USA and both in history and in law, education is specifically a State subject. The country has consequently developed a highly decentralised system of educational administration and it is worthy of note that the federal constitution does not even contain a reference to 'schools' or 'education'. All these factors should tend to make the role of US federal government in education extremely weak. But the facts are that federal aid to education is older than the federal constitution; and the present functions and responsibilities of the US federal government in education are far heavier and more important than in several other countries where even the Constitution makes the federal government responsible for education in some way or the other.

Today the US federal government conducts a U.S. Office of Education which serves as a clearing house of ideas and information. It is also directly responsible for a number of educational programmes such as education for national defence (inclusive of the programme of the schooling of the veterans of the Second World War), cooperation with other nations in a world-wide educational endeavour, in education in union territories and the education of the children of federal employees residing in government reservations, in dependencies and at foreign stations. Almost "every branch of the federal government conducts several educational activities ... Congress has its Committees on education in both the Houses and the Senate. The Supreme Court renders its interpretations in the form of decisions, as in the Dartmouth College Case, the MacCallum and Zorach decisions on public schools and religious instruction, the opinions on segregations in schools and colleges, and the interpretations on loyalty legislation affecting educators. Independent federal establishments that furnish educational service include the library of the Congress and its Copyright Office, the Government Printing Office, the Pan-American Union, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum, the National Gallery of Art, the National Academy of Sciences, the Commission of Fine Arts, the Atomic

Energy Commission and the National Science Foundation. Much educational research is conducted in the Nation's Capital and sponsored by the Congress of the United States.”\*

In times of national crises, such as the depression of the 1930's, the federal government assisted a number of emergency programmes such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), National Youth Administration (NYA), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and other agencies. It has also assumed certain responsibilities for the education of backward groups like the Red Indians or Negroes. But above all, it has made large funds available for educational development without any idea of imposing federal control in education. As stated above, this tradition of 'federal financial assistance' without 'federal control' is very old and goes back to 1785 while the Constitution itself was ratified in 1788. The first grants to education were in terms of land, but very soon money grants were also introduced. The purposes for which federal grants were or are being given include; (1) agricultural education through the development of land-grant colleges with experimental farms and extension services attached; (2) vocational education in Secondary schools; (3) vocational training in distributive occupations; (4) vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped; (5) vocational guidance and placement; etc. All this, it must be said, is being done when the Constitution does not refer to education at all and the legal basis of all this huge and significant activity is the 'general welfare' clause in the Constitution.<sup>†</sup> Hardly any other proof is needed to show that it is the historical background, and not the explicit provisions of the Constitution, that ordinarily determine the actual role of a federal government in education.”

<sup>†</sup> We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, *promote general welfare*, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

\* *De Young* : Introduction to American Public Education, pp. 32-33.

\*\* In the Australian Constitution also, Education is left to the States, there being no express power of the Commonwealth in this respect, in the Constitution. The Commonwealth has, however, assumed control over education under its powers of grant-in-aid, and under its powers over Defence, Trade and Commerce - *Nicholas*, Australian Constitution, p. 49.

Assuming this thesis for the sake of argument, the relevant question is: what have been the developments in Indian education since the adoption of the Constitution and how have they affected the constitutional roles of the Government of India and the state government in defining and implementing educational policies? In this context, attention may be specially to three significant developments. The first is the growing desire to evolve a national system of education for the country as a whole. This desire found an expression as early as 1906 when the Surat Congress passed a resolution on national education. It was given great fillip by Mahatma Gandhi in his Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921. But at this time, the idea was mainly restricted to a few non-official agencies.

When the popular ministers came to power in 1937, the movement also assumed an official form and an attempt was now made to reorientate all education institutions to the concept of national education. This desire naturally became even stronger when popular Governments came to power both in the centre and the State. Such a desire obviously implies the assumption of a leading role in the formulation and implementation of educational programmes by the Government of India.

The same implication has been further strengthened by the growing realisation of the fact that education has a *national* significance, that it would be almost be fatal to the future of the nation to treat it as purely local, that a group of states each of whom is sovereign to decide its own educational policies may even do more harm than good to national solidarity, and that a central agency to coordinate and develop a national system of education is inevitable in the present conditions when education is generally backward in all parts of the country and very unevenly developed in its different parts. It is this realisation of the national significance of education and the growing desire to create a national system of education that have led to the unprecedented activity of the Government of India in education during the last ten years and, to that extent, diminished the constitutional responsibility of the states for education.

A second development of the period which has also helped to give the Government of India a dominant voice in the formulation of educational policies is the revival of central grants



for education to which a reference has already been made. This revival was of course inevitable in the financial and administrative set-up created by the constitution which vests all the best resources in the centre and makes the states responsible for all the expensive social services. If the surplus resources at the Centre could have been passed to the needy states with little or no controls, the responsibility of the states for the development of education would have been strengthened. But this did not happen. The attempts of the centre in policy-making often got mixed up with its attempts at financial assistance and thus arose the charge that central grants are being used as levers to secure acceptance of central educational policies.

That this charge is largely unfounded will be shown later; but one result of the large central grants for education has to be admitted: they created a situation in which a very large part of the funds needed for educational development came from the centre through grant-in-aid. Consequently, the states have tended to lose their spirit of self-reliance and self-confidence and are developing a habit of looking up to Delhi for almost everything.

The third development of this period which undermined the responsibility of the states for education and this was a development which has done the greatest damage in this sector – came from outside the educational field, *viz.*, the adoption of centralised planning and the creation of the Planning Commission. In the new technique of planning that has now been adopted, more decisions tend to be taken at the centre than in the states. The decision on national targets, the fixation of priorities, the allocation of resources to different sectors of development or even to different programmes within the same sector of development, the allocation of resources to different states, the fixation of the central assistance to each state—these and such other problems are mainly decided by the Planning Commission and all these affect educational policies so largely that a state government is very often required, not to prepare an educational plan, but to fill in the blanks or details of a structure whose broad irrevocable outline has already been decided elsewhere. Even the Ministry of Education finds itself in the same weak predicament as the states vis-à-vis the Planning Commission. It is these developments that have contributed most to the trend to centralisation in education during the last ten years and it is

because of them that the responsibility of states for education has been most weakened.

It will thus be seen that the inherent contradiction in the constitutional position has been still further accentuated by the developments of the last ten years and the role of the centre has now become far more important in actual practice than in the cold print of the Constitution. It must also be remembered that these developments are not necessarily deplored. They are, in fact, welcomed in several quarters and today, a strong section of opinion in the country favours a proposal to amend the Constitution and to make education a concurrent subject. The lack of adequate leadership which is sometimes conspicuous at the state level and the frequently noticed distortion of state educational policies under immediately political or parochial pressures also tend to emphasize and strengthen this view-point. This equivocal position has given rise to a better controversy regarding the correct role of the federal government in education; and as suggested in the opening paragraphs, this problem will have to be satisfactorily solved at an early date.

#### IV

#### THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION — A COMPARATIVE STUDY (AUSTRALIA, CANADA, THE USA AND THE USSR)

The main object of this paper is to discuss the role of the Government of India in education *as it ought to be*. But before taking up this issue, it would be of advantage to make a brief comparative study of the role of the federal government in education in four selected countries – Australia, Canada, the USA, and the USSR.

*Australia:* Of all the countries mentioned above, Australia is an example of the weakest role that a federal government can ever play in education. The reasons for this peculiar situation are purely historical. The states of Australia were founded and grew as independent colonies and it was only as late as in 1901 that the federal government was created. By this time, every state had developed its own educational system and such a strong local sentiment and tradition for education had been created that the people did not think it necessary to invest the federal government

with any authority in education. Nay, there was even a feeling that federal control and intervention in education would do great harm; and this explains why the Australian Constitution makes no reference to education and why the federal government took no steps for educational development for several years after its formation.

The Australian Council for Educational Research began as a voluntary enterprise with a grant from the Carnegie Foundation; and the first attempts to form a federal agency in education were restricted to periodical meetings of the Directors and Ministers of Education of all the states for the discussion of common problems.

In 1943, a Universities Commission was established and its functions were defined as follows: (a) to arrange for the training of ex-soldiers in universities or similar institutions; (b) to assist students studying in universities or similar institutions; (c) to advise the minister with respect to such matters relating to university training and associated matters as are referred to it by the minister for advice; and (d) to assist other persons, in prescribed cases or classes of cases, to obtain training in universities or similar institutions. It is easy to see that this Universities Commission is quite different from the Indian University Grants Commission.

In 1945, the Commonwealth Office of Education was established and its functions were listed as follows: (a) to advise the minister on matters relating to education (b) to establish and maintain liaison on matters relating to education, with other countries and with the States; (c) to arrange consultation between Commonwealth authorities concerned with matters relating to education; (d) to undertake research relating to education; (e) to provide statistics and information relating to education required by any common wealth authority; (f) to advise the minister concerning the grant of financial assistance to the states and the other authorities for educational purposes; and (g) such other functions in relation to education as are assigned to it by the Minister.

In spite of the general attitude to keep the federal government out of education as far as possible, certain educational functions had to be taken up. For instance, responsibilities for scientific and industrial research had to be assumed by the federal government

and the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation was set up with the object of placing "at the service of producers throughout Australia, both in primary and secondary industries, the highest ability and the most advanced knowledge in order to reduce the cost and increase the volume of production". As a further development of the same trend, the National Australian University was established research schools, including a school of Medical Research, a Research School of Physical Science, a Research School of Social Science, and a Research School of Pacific Studies. The University is exclusively engaged in research and the benefit of its work extends to the whole of Australia and all the countries and Island of the Pacific. Similarly, the federal government has had to assume responsibility for the education of the Maoris. It has also established one model pre-school centre in each state capital and has taken upon itself the responsibility to organise a national fitness programme.

Some explanation is needed about the power of the federal government to give financial assistance. In the first place, the federal government in Australia has the sole power to levy major taxes and the proceeds are distributed to the states on some general principles which have no relationship with the scale of state expenditures. These financial allocations cannot, therefore, be described as 'grants' or 'assistance' in the proper sense of the term. But off and on, the federal government does give grants for some educational purpose from its own resources. For example, grants were given for the establishment of a School for Aeronautical Engineering in the University of Melbourne and a School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine in the University of Sydney. As an aid to the National Fitness programme, the State Grants (Milk for School Children) Act was passed in 1950 and provision was made for supply of milk to children under 13. The scheme is to be administered by the State and the expenditure is to be reimbursed by the federal government.

*Canada:* The role of the Canadian Federal Government in education is similar to that in Australia with two major differences: (1) the problem of linguistic and religious minorities is acute in Canada and needs special safeguards, and (2) it is more influenced by the developments in the USA.

As is well-known, the present Dominion of Canada arose out of a fusion of British and French colonies. The French-speaking people who are mostly Roman Catholics are a minority in the Dominion as a whole but a majority in certain parts such as Quebec and the position of the English-speaking people, who are mostly Protestants, is just the opposite of this. Special safeguards for the interests of minorities had, therefore, to be provided in the federal constitution – the British North America Act of 1867 – which lays down that rights enjoyed by the religious minorities prior to their entry into the Dominion shall not be abrogated and, in cases of dispute, provides appeals to the Governor-General-in-Council and to the Privy Council in London. Safeguarding the educational rights of minorities is thus an essential federal responsibility in Canada.

The federal government in Canada is also constitutionally responsible for the education in the territories, for the education of Red Indians and Eskimos, and for training for national defence. As in Australia, scientific and other research has become a federal responsibility and the "National Research Council, in conjunction with the national research laboratories in Ottawa, maintains laboratories, offers scholarships to research students, and pays grants-in-aid for investigations conducted at the University level by Provincial Departments of Education".\* As in the USA, Canada also has made large land and money grants for education and assists programmes of vocational and technical education in schools. There is, however, no Federal Minister or Department of Education, not even an Office of Education as in the USA or Australia. There is a Dominion Bureau of Statistics which publishes, as one of its multifarious duties, an Annual Survey of Education in Canada. There is also a Canadian Education Association which collects and publishes research studies and generally functions as a clearing house for information and ideas. Recently, the federal government has given financial assistance for increasing staff salaries in universities and it also bears the expenditure on school broadcasts. All things considered, therefore, the general opinion is "that the part played in education by the Dominion Government in Canada is important, but neither extensive nor expending".

\*Cramer and Browne: *Contemporary Education*, p. 145.

*The USA:* A reference has already been made in paragraph 25 to the different activities of the US Federal Government in education and it is, therefore, only necessary to refer briefly here to the modern trends in the US education which will ultimately result in a substantial increase in the federal participation in educational development.

One of the most important modern trends of thinking in the USA is that education is also a national responsibility and that, whatever justification there may have been for leaving it exclusively to the states in 1788 when the Constitution was framed, the entire position has to be examined afresh in the light of present day requirements. In fact, it is readily pointed out that the position of exclusive state responsibility for education adopted in 1788 has already become obsolete and that the federal government has, during the last hundred and seventy years, developed a number of very significant and large-scale educational functions to meet the demands of changing times. The most pointed example of this is the recent federal effort to scout for talent in scientific studies and to improve science education, when it was realised that the USSR was probably outstripping the USA in the development of science, and all that is now urged is that the federal role in education will have to be expanded still further if the USA has to hold her own in the modern world.

Assuming that the federal government shall expand its educational activities, the direction in which this expansion should take place is the next important issue to be discussed in this field. One important area suggested is federal grants for 'general education' – which corresponds to the free and compulsory education visualised in Article 45 of the Indian Constitution – with a view to 'equalising educational opportunities'. In no country of the world has so much research and study been carried out on this problem as in the USA. The work really started with a study of educational facilities provided by the local communities on whom, not very long ago, the entire responsibility for general education was made to rest. It was discovered that the 'education load' of communities, as shown by the number of children to be educated, varied largely from place to place – rural and agricultural districts generally had more children per 1,000 of population than urban and industrialised districts.

Secondly, the 'ability' of the communities to support education, as measured by their taxable capacity also showed large variations and very often, a community with a poor 'ability' to support education was required to carry larger 'educational load'.

Thirdly, the 'effort' of the community for education, as measured by the percentage of its taxable capacity raised and devoted to education, also showed large variations; and finally the educational 'achievements' of the different communities showed extreme variations – some communities providing a very high standard of education to all the children, while others could neither enrol all children nor maintain adequate standards in schools.

What is worse, it was found that several communities made the greatest 'effort' to provide education and yet, either because of poor 'capacity' or heavy 'educational loads' or both, they could only show a poor standard of 'achievement'. Such disparities are increased rather than decreased by the system of 'matching grants' which give more to the rich than to the poor.

To remove all these shortcomings and to provide equality of educational opportunity for all children, which is a fundamental need of democracy, the state governments have given up the idea of grants-in-aid on the basis of matching funds alone and have supplemented it by a new system of grant-in-aid on the basis of equalisation. The process is complicated but it works out somewhat on the following lines: In the first instance, the state prescribes what is called a 'foundation programme' that is to say, a minimum programme below which no community can be allowed to fall. The programme includes targets for enrolments, teachers, salaries, school buildings, provision of health services (inclusive of school meals) and other contingent expenditures so that it is both a qualitative and a quantitative programme. The second step in the process is to work out the total cost of this programme for each community; and the third step is to determine the 'reasonable' effort which the local community is expected to make. The difference between the total cost of the foundation programme and the reasonable effort expected of the community.

These ideas which have now come to stay at the community level are being naturally extended to the state level and studies made so far have shown that the states themselves exhibit wide variation in 'educational loads', in 'abilities', in 'efforts' to support education and in 'achievements'. Consequently, a demand is now being put forward to the effect that 'equalisation of educational opportunity' must be accepted as a federal responsibility. The federal government, it is said, must lay down a minimum foundation programme for all states and must give equalisation grants where necessary on principles similar to those mentioned above. It is also evident that the support for this concept of federal aid to education is rapidly gaining ground and that it is only a matter of time when federal grants for equalisation of educational opportunities would be generally available.

The main argument against this wholesome and urgent reform is the fear that federal aid to education will necessarily be followed by federal control. There are several thinkers who would rather refuse federal aid than have federal control. But an equally strong argument is now being put forward that federal aid can and should be given without federal control. "According to many fiscal experts," writes De Young, "no sound programme of local or state taxation can be devised and established which will support in every community a school system that meets minimum acceptable standards. Time can never efface the inequalities in natural resources that exist between states. Therefore, unless the federal government participates in the financial support of the schools and the related services the less able areas, several million children in the United States and the outlying territories and possessions will continue to be denied the educational opportunities that should be regarded as their birthright.

Most recommendations and recent proposals for federal aid stipulate positively that such grants shall not entail federal control over education. They also specify that the money shall be apportioned to the states, except that for cooperative educational research, which shall be administered by the United States Office of Education.

Several decades ago Rutherford B. Hayes, then President of the United States, sent to Congress a message in which he said: "No more fundamental responsibility rests upon Congress than

that of devising appropriate measures of financial aid to education, supplement to local action in the states and territories and in the District of Columbia. This challenge has not yet been adequately met. Federal aid to public education is one of the moral 'musts' of America."

Apart from this major 'equalisation' aid for general education, the following programmes have also been suggested for federal assistance:

- 1) Scholarships and fellowships in higher education to be made available to undergraduate, graduate and professional students (scheme to be administered by the States);
- 2) Scholarships for talented youth in secondary schools;
- 3) Improvement of teacher education; and
- 4) Educational experimentation and pilot projects.

*The USSR:* The three examples given so far are those of countries which have accepted democracy as a way of life and which also have a federal form of government. The USSR, on the other hand, is a totalitarian state with a federal government in education under such a system.

There is no federal Ministry of Education in the USSR and this may lead one to suppose that the Soviet Union has a decentralised system of education. Nothing can be farther from the truth: and in no country of the world is education so rigidly controlled by a central authority as in the USSR. This paradox, therefore, needs some explanation and it can be understood only in terms of Soviet philosophy and administrative techniques.

Under communist philosophy, the most important objective in education is to create the "new Soviet Man" which means a person who is fully imbued with the philosophy of communism and who becomes an efficient and loyal worker of the State in the field to which he may be ultimately assigned. In the Soviet system, therefore, the highest significance is attached to the control of the contents of education and of all the media which influence the thinking of men such as films, radio, television, concert hall, the theatre, press, books, lecture platform, etc. The determination of the contents of education and the control of all media of communication in such a manner as to produce the one effect

desired on the minds of all men becomes, therefore, a responsibility of the highest Soviet authority. It is the authorities at the federal level, therefore, that determine the curricula and methods of instruction to ensure that education is in line with Party and State Policy. Once decided, these curricula and methods are adopted in *every* school in order that a uniform education could be planned and implemented for the nation as a whole. All the different agencies that administer education at lower levels – from the State to the local Soviet – have no control over these fundamental issues and their main responsibility is to provide the necessary facilities to give effect to these central decisions.

Secondly, the communist philosophy attaches the highest significance to the provision of free and compulsory education for every child and for the provision of higher education to every gifted child according to his capacity because it is only under such a system that the new Soviet Man can be created. In the planned and centralised economy of the USSR therefore, all the necessary funds required for the educational programme are provided from the common financial pool and then allocated to the different subordinate units. In other words, the federal financial resources of the USSR are fully pledged for the support of education and for ensuring equality of educational opportunity for all.

It has also to be remembered that the USSR is an example of educational control by a single party. Speaking from a purely technical point of view, it is possible to describe the different levels in Soviet educational administration to which specific functions have been allocated by law. But as the Communist Party alone controls every administrative unit from the lowest to the highest, the entire control of education is centralised in the Communist Party and delegations of administrative authority to lower levels makes no difference in this respect.

Subject to these three general observations in which the situation in the USSR is not strictly comparable to other countries, the role of the USSR federal government in education may be stated as follows:

- a) There is a Union Republic Ministry of Higher Education in Moscow (known briefly as the RSFSR Ministry of Higher Education). It exercises supervisory control including control of general academic standards over *all* Soviet

Higher educational institutions and semi-professional schools. It controls teaching staff, curricula, textbooks, enrolment quotas and the assignment of graduates. The Soviet Universities have no autonomy as we understand it – they are merely departments of the State.

- b) The RSFSR Ministry of Higher Education is also charged with the task of anticipating and meeting *all* needs for manpower in the USSR. In the planned economy that the USSR is trying to build up it is of the highest importance to train the manpower and to discover the new techniques required for the expanding economy and it is therefore, an important objective of Soviet Higher education to prepare qualified specialists for all branches of national economy and culture. A very elaborate procedure has also been evolved to discharge this responsibility. Each ministry works out its requirements of personnel in precise detail and these form an integral part of its development plan. When the national plan is finalised, therefore, it also includes the total requirements of manpower of all categories and it becomes the main object of the educational plan to train and supply this personnel. This most significant task, as stated above, is mainly entrusted to the RSFSR Ministry of Higher Education.
- c) The RSFSR Ministry of Higher Education also conducts an Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and through it, takes a lead in formulating standard study programmes, working out new procedures, setting up criteria for academic attainment, conducting educational experiments or broadcasting their results, etc.
- d) At the federal level, there is also a RSFSR Ministry of Culture which deals mainly with cultural-educational establishments for adults including those concerned with music, art, drama, movies, ballet, public libraries and lectures, houses of culture, museums, rural clubs, etc. In the democratic countries, recreation is a purely private enterprise. In the USSR, it becomes, in keeping with the communist philosophy, a controlled and significant activity of the state and both its content and method, like those of education, are severely controlled from the federal level.

- e) The USSR federal government also performs the usual noncontroversial functions assigned to this level, such as (1) collection of statistics and data and (2) arranging for consultations between State Ministries of Education and coordinating their activities. But as may easily be imagined, these consultations do not have much significance. The most effective discussions in policymaking take place at Communist Party Congresses and “resolutions having significance for the general education development of the whole country are promulgated by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the USSR Council of Ministers. Such decrees specify, *inter alia*, the types of schools to be established, basic organisation, academic programmes to be followed and general provisions regarding compulsory education”.

There are, it is true, a number of other federations in the world. But a detailed examination of education in all or even some of them is not very essential to this study. The four states examined here illustrate all the important issues involved and the study of other federations would only repeat them in various combinations.

The foregoing studies show, apart from the general characteristics of federal functions in education and the manner of implementing them, a few other interesting principles useful to an examination of the problem under review. To begin with it may be said that Australia stands at one end of the ladder as having the weakest role in education while the USSR stands at the other as having the strongest one while intermediate positions are occupied, in order to an increasing important role, by Canada and the USA. India, it may be noticed, stands somewhere between the USA and the USSR.

Having accepted democracy as a way of life, it would not centralise education under the federal government as has been done in the USSR. The Constitution, therefore, had to adopt a model more in keeping with democratic traditions and it is not surprising that the model of the USA where education is a State subject was selected for the purpose. But no country can solve its problems by mere imitation and the general model of the USA had to be modified on account of three reasons: (1) The American Constitution provides for strong State Government with

residuary powers vested in the States while the Indian Constitution wanted to create a strong Centre with residuary powers vested in the Centre; (2) Education in the USA is fully developed and the states are doing so much for it and so well that the need of federal action does not arise in most matters, while in India education has yet to be developed and the States would not be able to do so unless the centre played a more prominent role of leadership and assistance; and (3) allowance had to be made for the conditions peculiar to India and for the fact that the role of the federal government in the USA itself was expanding in certain directions which it would be very advantageous for India to copy. These basic considerations, which appear to have led the frames of the Constitution to deviate from the USA model and to endow the Indian federation with more powers and responsibilities in education are still applicable and it is quite clear that, in the ultimate solution of the problem, India will be found to be holding a position intermediate between the USA and the USSR.

## V

### THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN EDUCATION—AS IT IS AND AS IT OUGHT TO BE

In view of the studies made in the preceding sections – the historical study in Part II and the comparative study in Part IV – it is now possible to take up the thread of the argument where it was left in Part III – the analysis of the contradictions and conflicts in the existing educational role of the Government of India – and to discuss how this role could be reorganised in the near future.

When one examines the role which the Constitution assigns to the federal government in education (or the role which it has now come to play in actual practice) and compares it with the role which other federal governments play in education, or even with the role which the Government of India itself played in the earlier years of our history, one can easily conclude that the following activities may be undoubtedly regarded as "federal functions in education":

1) Educational and cultural relations with other countries;

- 2) The clearing house function of collecting and broadcasting ideas and information;
- 3) The coordinating function of harmonising the educational activities of the centre and the states;
- 4) Education in the union territories;
- 5) Scientific research;
- 6) Technical education;
- 7) Propagation, development and enrichment of Hindi;
- 8) Preservation and promotion of national culture inclusive of patronage to national art;
- 9) Patronage to the study of ancient Indian culture in general and the study of Sanskrit in particular;
- 10) Education of the handicapped;
- 11) Promotion and coordination of educational research;
- (12) Special responsibility for the cultural interests of the minorities;
- 13) Responsibility for the weaker sections of the people *i.e.* the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes;
- 14) Responsibility for strengthening national unity through suitable programmes and particularly through those of emotional integration;
- 15) Grant of scholarships in an attempt to scout for talent, especially at the university stage;
- 16) Advanced professional and vocational training; and
- 17) Maintenance of central institutions or agencies for education; and
- 18) Provision of free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years.

These eighteen functions may be broadly divided into two groups – the exclusive and the current. The first four functions obviously fall in the 'exclusive' group since no state government can perform them. The remaining fourteen functions fall into the 'concurrent' group in the sense that every state government will have to participate in these programmes both on its own initiative and as an agent of the Government of India; but the overall responsibility

for these matters whose national significance is universally recognised would be on the Government of India.

A few explanatory remarks are perhaps necessary in support of the federal character of these eleven functions. In so far as *scientific research* and *technical education* (the fifth and sixth functions), are concerned, it may be stated that they have been accepted as federal functions everywhere. In India, the federal responsibility for them is far more significant at the present moment, partly because scientific and technical education is not adequately developed in the states and partly because a good deal of finance and technical help is being made available by a number of advanced countries to assist educational progress in India.

The seventh function, *viz., the development of Hindi*, the national language, is naturally a peculiar and special responsibility of the Government of India. It has hardly any parallels in the western world; but a similar problem has to be faced in Asiatic countries with a multi-lingual population such as Malaya or Philippines.

The eight function, *viz., the preservation and promotion of national culture*, inclusive of patronage to national art, is an important federal function in almost all the countries. In India also, this function was assumed fairly early and its significance has increased very largely in the post-Independence period owing to the disappearance of the Indian Princely order which was well known for its patronage to art.

The ninth function, *viz., the study of ancient Indian culture in general and that of Sanskrit in particular*, also become a federal responsibility in India. These studies, which have no immediate utilitarian value, are likely to be pushed to the background in the stress of present day demands and it is, therefore, a duty of the federal government to conserve this heritage of centuries and to pass it on to the successive generations as a source of inspiration.

The Government of India has also had to assume some responsibilities for *the education of handicapped children*, the tenth function. This is both a philosophic and a practical need. The handicapped children are 'a weaker section of the people and their education and economic improvement thus becomes a responsibility of the federal government also under Article 46 of the Constitution; and even from the strictly practical point of view it would not be feasible and financially worthwhile for every state

government to provide the necessary trained personnel and costly equipment required for the purpose. The decision of the Government of India to enter this field to do some pioneer work and to assist the State Governments and the voluntary organisations working for this cause has, therefore, been generally welcomed. In fact the demand is for a much larger expansion of the federal activities in this sector than what is visualised at present.

The eleventh function, *viz., the promotion and coordination of educational research* is a federal function in Australia and the USSR but not in the USA or Canada where well-organised non-official agencies attend to it. But in the peculiar conditions of India at present, this has to be a federal function. Hardly any effort has been made so far to set up Research Bureau in the State Education Departments or to develop strong centres for research in the training colleges or University Departments of Education. Very little has been done to collect data on the research that is going on and still less of it is being published. There is not a single journal in the country devoted to educational research and hardly any measures are being taken to count for research talent and to develop research techniques in education.

Since the formulation of correct and progressive policies depends very largely on the development of research, it goes without saying that this function would have to receive much more attention in the near future than it has ever had in the past and that early measures will have to be taken to remedy all the deficiencies pointed out above. It is only a vigorous central action in this sector that can achieve these objectives.

With regard to the twelfth function, *viz., the special responsibility for the cultural interests of the minorities*, reference has already been made to the Canadian Constitution where the federal government is specially charged with the responsibility of protecting the educational and cultural interests of the minorities. In India, the position is even more difficult than in Canada which has to deal with only two sub-sects of a religion and only two languages. The protection of the cultural and educational interests of the minorities is therefore, a very important responsibility of the Government of India and the success of our democracy will very largely depend upon the extent and the manner in which this



function is discharged and confidence is created in the minds of the minorities concerned.

The Constitution already provides certain safeguards for the cultural and educational interests of minorities. For instance, Article 29 (1) guarantees that any section of the citizens having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. Article 30 (1) gives the minorities, whether based on religion or language, the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice, and clause (2) of the same Article further provides that such institutions shall not be discriminated against in respect of grant-in-aid on the only ground that they are under the management of a minority.

Article 29 (2) provides that no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. Article 350A directs that it shall be the endeavour of every State and every local authority to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the Primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and Article 350B provides for the appointment of a Special Officer for linguistic minorities with the specific object of investing into all matters relating to safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the Constitution.

While these provisions are generally welcomed, a common criticism is that they are not adequate and that some additional measures are necessary. For instance, it has been suggested that the educational institutions conducted by linguistic minorities at the Primary stage of education should have a right to receive grant-in-aid from State funds, at least to the extent of the expenditure per pupil incurred by the state government concerned for its own primary schools. It has also been claimed that the educational interests of the linguistic minorities at other stages of education need some special consideration which is not given at present. It has further been suggested that it is the responsibility of the Government of India to maintain, in all parts of the country, a sufficient number of institutions of higher education teaching through the medium of Hindi or English in order to provide for the educational interests of the children of its own employees who are liable to be transferred to any part of

the union and also for the legitimate protection of the educational interests of small and scattered linguistic minorities. The whole problem is delicate and difficult and it is not possible to suggest any simple and clear-cut solution to it, but the need for the exercise of vigilance by the federal government in this regard is obvious.

The thirteenth function refers to the federal responsibility for the *education of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes*. Under Article 46 of the Constitution, the Government of India is responsible for the economic and educational development of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and, as has been pointed out earlier, similar responsibilities have been adopted by other federal governments also – the federal government in the USA having special responsibility for Red Indians and Negroes, in Australia for Maoris and in Canada for Red Indians and Eskimos. Under the present set-up, this responsibility has been vested in the Ministry of Home Affairs which is assisted, in its turn, by all the Ministries of the Government of India, wherever necessary. The Ministry of Education has thus to look after the problems of education of these weaker sections of the community; and the Ministry of Home Affairs has made it clear, time and again, that it looks forward to the Ministry of Education for guidance in all technical aspects of education and every now and then, references regarding special intricate problems in this sector are made to the Ministry.

The fourteenth function refers to the *federal responsibility for strengthening national unity*. One of the most important problems which faces the country at present is to strengthen the ties of national unity through programmes of emotional integration and to negative the fissiparous tendencies which have become so prominent, especially after the reorganisation of states on a linguistic basis. This responsibility is so fundamental to the very existence of democracy and the defence of our freedom that it is hardly necessary to emphasise it. But unfortunately, very little is being done at present in this sector. The basic responsibilities in this programme will have to be that of the Government of India and the state governments will have to cooperate whole-heartedly in their implementation. This is, therefore, an area where a good deal of fundamental thinking and intensive effort is immediately called for.

The fifteenth function is the provision of *scholarships*. One of the principal purpose underlying educational development is social justice and the provision of equality of educational opportunity for all. A liberal scheme of scholarships to help the talented and poor children thus becomes a very significant programme in educational reconstruction. Obviously, such a programme will have to be implemented jointly by the Government of India and the state governments. The federal government admittedly has a special responsibility for the institution of scholarships at the University stage; but it is also argued that, unless an adequate provision for scholarships is made at the Secondary stage, poor and deserving children would never be able to qualify themselves for university admission. Both in the first and in the second Plans, very little has been done in this sector. It is, however, obvious that, for several years to come. This would be an important programme of educational reconstruction. The Government of India would have to play a leading part in its implementation by helping in the determination of right policies and by providing necessary financial assistance to state governments.

The sixteenth function refers to *advanced professional and vocational training*. Under Entry 65(a) of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, the federal government is authorised to set up agencies and institutions for professional, vocational or technical training. Obviously, the state governments are also competent to set up such institutions under Entry II of List II of the same schedule. It is, therefore, necessary to draw a dividing line between the federal and state functions in this respect. If Entry 65(a) of List I is literally interpreted, it may be made to cover any course of professional, vocational or technical training from a tailoring class at one end to a postgraduate course for plant pathologists at the other. But obviously, this is not the intension of the Constitution.

It should be assumed that the state governments would make all the necessary provision for professional and vocational education; but there are advanced courses of professional and vocational education which are very costly and which could not possibly be maintained by every State. It is in this sector that the Government of India has a special role to play by providing such

*advanced* courses as would be needed by the country in general or by more than one state in particular.

Another objective for the organisation of such courses would be to develop the highest type of professional and vocational education within the country itself and, to that extent, to reduce the necessity of sending students abroad for higher education. For instance, it is not the responsibility of the Government of India to conduct an institution for pre-service training of teachers at the BT or BEd Level. It should rather concentrate itself on providing postgraduate courses of in-service training for higher grades of educational administrators and teacher educators.

The seventeenth function refers to *the establishment of union institutions and agencies for education*. The federal government is required to establish and maintain educational institutions for a number of reasons. For instance, educational institutions have to be maintained for employees of the central government. They have also to be maintained in important commercial undertakings of the Government of India in order to meet the requirements of the population of the new towns which have been established for such undertakings. Military cantonments which are under the control of the Government of India are also required to maintain educational institutions, not only for defence personnel, but also for the general population living in cantonment areas. Apart from such special purposes, it is also the responsibility of the centre to conduct educational institutions with two definite objectives: (1) to serve as experimental institutions in comparatively neglected or more significant fields; and (2) to cater to the needs of more than one state or for the country as a whole.

The eighteenth function refers to the *provision of free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14 years* as directed in Article 45 of the Constitution. If this Article is read with Article 12 of the Constitution, it will be evident that the provision of universal, free and compulsory primary education is a joint responsibility of the Government of India, the state governments and the local authorities. The role of the Government of India would obviously be restricted to the formulation of national targets to be reached, to the grant of financial assistance to state governments for implementing this programme and to the maintenance of an equal standard of

attainment, both in quantity and quality, in all parts of the country. The role of the state governments would mainly be restricted to the provision of teachers, their training, and supervision. The local authorities will have to take responsibility for all the expenditure on the remaining items and will have to implement the programme satisfactorily with the help of grants-in-aid from the state governments. Just as the grants-in-aid given by the centre to the state governments will have to be based on the principle of equalisation, the grants-in-aid given by the state governments to the local authorities also will have to be passed on the same principle. In other words, the grants-in-aid to richer local authorities would be proportionately less and those to the poorer local authorities would be proportionately greater.

54. The eighteenth function of the federal government in education discussed so far may be regarded as fairly non-controversial. The first four functions, as stated earlier, belong exclusively to the federal government and there can be no controversy about them. The remaining 13 functions fall into the concurrent group. But it is universally agreed that the federal government has some responsibility with regard to each one of them, although there might be some slight difference of opinion regarding the extent and nature of such role.

Over and above these seventeen functions, however, there are three other functions which are very important and which, at present, have become highly controversial, viz. (i) the education of women, (ii) policy-making and (iii) financial assistance. It is therefore, necessary to discuss them in some detail.

#### EDUCATION OF WOMEN

The National Committee on Women's Education, it may be recalled, has recommended that the Government of India should assume a *transitional* special responsibility for this subject until the existing wide gap between the education of boys and girls is materially bridged. In the opinion of the Committee, women come under the expression "weaker section of the people" used in Article 46 of the Constitution. The Backward Classes Commission set up by the Government of India also recommended that women

should be regarded as 'backward classes' and this strengthens the claim of treating their education as a responsibility of the Government of India under Article 46. The Committee has also put forward another strong argument in favour of its proposal. The Government of India admittedly has a special responsibility for providing free and compulsory education up to the age of 14. This responsibility is not being implemented at present mainly because the education of girls has lagged behind that of boys; and the Committee, therefore, claims that the responsibility of the Government of India under Article 45 cannot be fulfilled unless it also assumes some special responsibilities for the education of girls.

Those who do not accept this view argue that, under the proposal made by the committee, education becomes almost a central subject. Since women form about half of the total population, the state governments would be deprived of 50 per cent of their responsibility if the education of girls becomes a special responsibility of the centre; and if the other sectors for which the Government of India is also responsible are taken into consideration, the responsibilities of the Government of India would be far larger than those of the state governments themselves. Secondly, it is also argued that it will not be possible for the Government of India to discharge this responsibility to any extent unless the willing and enthusiastic cooperation of the state governments is obtained by making them constitutionally responsible for the programmes and providing them with the necessary financial assistance.

The only logical conclusion under these circumstances seems to be that the responsibility of the Government of India for the education of girls should cover, not the *entire* programme for the education of girls, but only the small quantum of a *special* programme which is needed to give it a fillip. Even the special programmes should not be directly implemented by the centre. They should rather be included in the "centrally sponsored" sector under which the programmes are planned by the state governments on the lines of some general principles laid down by the centre and also implemented by them through their own agencies. The provision for their expenditure, however, is made in the central sector and the funds are made available to state

governments on a 100 per cent basis, outside their plans and ceilings. If such a clear-cut policy is defined and adopted, even the states would welcome it; and it would obviously go a very long way in expediting the programmes of women's education, particularly in the backward states.

*Policy-making function*— The policy-making function of the Federal Government in education has now become one of the most controversial issues in education. Under entry 66 of List I the Government of India is required to coordinate and maintain standards in University education. Obviously, therefore, it does get a right to make policy decisions in university education and these will be binding upon state governments under Article 257 (i) of the Constitution which lays down that the executive power of the state government shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union. Should any state government not accept these decisions, it would be open to the government of India to take action under the same Article which also authorises the Union to give such directions to a state government as may appear to be necessary for this purpose.

But what about policy-making in secondary or primary education, or in fields which are not specially covered by Entries in List I of the Seventh Schedule?

From the strictly legal point of view, it can be argued that the Government of India has no authority to make any policy decisions in these sectors and that even if it did make any policy decisions, they cannot be enforced against the state governments under Article 257 (i) of the Constitution. Of course, it is possible to argue that the standards of university education are dependent on those in secondary education and that the standards in secondary education are, in their turn, dependent on those in primary education and to deduce therefrom that the Government of India can also take policy decisions in the fields of primary and secondary education. Such an interpretation appears to be plausible; but one cannot say how the courts would react to it if it is challenged. At best, it appears to be a slippery position on which it would be dangerous to take a firm stand.

It is true that the Government of India has been taking decisions in all fields of education in the post-independence period and these decisions are mostly being accepted by state

governments. This result, however, is accidental and is due to two extraneous circumstances – (1) the political fact that the same party is in power at the centre and the States and (2) the financial fact that most of these decisions have been sugar-coated with liberal financial assistance. But it would be wrong to assume that this political situation will always continue and it would be equally difficult to justify the use of financial pressures for inducing states to accept policies to which they would not otherwise have agreed to.

The present constitutional position, therefore, presents an impasse. On the one hand, education must be treated as a whole and it is neither possible nor desirable to break it up into two compartments – University education and other sectors. On the other hand, Government has only a limited authority for making policy decisions in the sector of university education while it is not at all empowered to take any policy decisions in other fields; and even if it were to take any such decision, it does not have the legal authority to enforce it against the state government.

What is the way out of this impasse? Three suggestions are being put forward and discussed in this context. The first and the most radical suggestion is to amend the Constitution and to make education a 'concurrent' subject. In support of this view, a number of weighty arguments are put forward and although some of these have been briefly referred to in the earlier discussion, it may still be desirable to sum up the whole case here. It is argued, for example, that the 'economic and social planning' for which the union is primarily responsible cannot be attempted successfully unless the centre is also empowered to plan education.

Secondly, it is claimed that educational policy is a *national* rather than a state or local concern and that, although the administration of education may be left to the States and local authorities, the major decisions of State policy must be taken by the Centre.

Thirdly, it is pointed out that the Directive contained in Article 45 of the Constitution implies that the provision of free and compulsory education is a joint responsibility and that the centre will not be in a position to play its role in this sector unless it has also the authority to take policy decisions in Primary education and to compel the State Governments, if necessary, to adopt them.

Fourthly, it is pointed out that it is a fundamental responsibility of the centre to maintain an equal standard of social services in all parts of the country and as education is the most significant of all social services, the Centre will have to provide an equality of educational opportunity for *all* children in the country. This can only be done if education is amenable to central planning and control.

Fifthly, it is pointed out that the educational leadership available in the states is often below par and, as no chain can be stronger than its weakest link, the centre must often provide effective leadership from above – a function which can hardly be discharged satisfactorily unless it is empowered adequately to deal with recalcitrant cases; and finally, it is pointed out that the centre is responsible to parliament for all the funds it gives to state governments for educational development and that it cannot really be answerable to parliament in this behalf unless it also has the authority to take firm policy decisions and to implement them. The burden of the song is, therefore, clear; amend the Constitution and make education a concurrent subject. It must also be stated that there is a fairly largest support for this view and in almost every parliament session, the notice of a resolution to this effect is given by some member or the other.

As against this extreme view in one direction, there is a second group of thinkers who would prefer to go to an extreme in the other direction. They suggest that education is and should be a state subject and that the modern trend towards centralisation must be resisted as forcefully as possible in the larger interests of the country. They demand decentralisation in general – even in planning – on grounds of democracy and warn that centralisation, which brings some immediate gains, is extremely harmful in the long run because it saps the self-confidence, initiative, responsibility and even the competence of state governments. In their view, a still greater need for decentralisation in education is the possibility it affords to every linguistic minority to preserve its own culture and to progress in its own way. It is also argued that the varied mosaic pattern which Indian culture has evolved through centuries past can be preserved only if state governments have real authority over education and that it can be destroyed in no time under a centralised control of education which would

always tend to introduce dead uniformity. It is further urged that centralisation of education would make it increasingly bureaucratic and thus deprive it of the healthy direct contact with the public. This group of thinkers, therefore, would not only preserve the sovereign authority which state governments have over education at present, but they would even go a step further and cut at the very root of all trends of centralisation by abolishing the Ministry of Education itself or by constituting a single small ministry for all social welfare services.

Between these two extreme views – out of which is close to Australia and the other to the USSR – there is a third view which represents the latest thought on this subject in the USA and which may also be regarded as the ‘golden mean’ proposal of reform. According to this view, centralisation of educational authority – and this is exactly what all the talk of making education a concurrent subject really means – is definitely harmful while a weak or inactive centre is hardly better than cultural anarchy. What this group of thinkers recommends, therefore, is that the federal government should provide strong and competent leadership of a ‘stimulating but non-coercive character’.

This leadership is to be provided in three ways: in ideas, in personnel, and in programmes.

- a) The leadership in ideas is provided in two ways – through the development of research and through the coordinating and clearing house functions which cross-fertilise educational thinking by making known the good work done in one area of the country to the remaining areas.
- b) The leadership in personnel is generally provided in three ways – the maintenance of an advisory service, the training of educational administrators, and experimental work in the training of teachers. It is a fundamental responsibility of the centre to scout for talent and to maintain an advisory service of the best people available in the country and to make them available to state governments for advice and assistance in all matters. Secondly, it is also a responsibility of the centre to arrange for advanced professional training in educational administration and to provide for the in-service training of educational

administrators through such programmes as seminars and workshops, special training or refresher course, deputations for studies in the country or abroad, and production of necessary literature. Thirdly, the federal government has also a responsibility in the attempt to provide better teachers by advising and assisting the state governments to adopt such measures as improving the remuneration and service conditions of teachers, conduct of experiments in teacher education, etc.

- c) Finally, the leadership in programmes can be provided through the conduct of pilot or experimental projects.

It is claimed that if the central government can thus provide a competent professional leadership through ideas, men and programmes, the willing consent of the state governments would be secured to whatever common policy the federal government desires to adopt and that such persuasion of the State is infinitely better than coercion under a constitutional authority. It is obvious that a conscious adoption of this policy is probably the best course to be followed in India.

#### FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Then comes another of the most significant federal functions in education, *viz.*, the provision of financial assistance for programmes of education. That the federal government must give such assistance is universally admitted; and the task is of special significance in India where the most elastic and productive sources of revenue are vested in the centre. The main controversies, therefore, relate to two issues – the objectives of assistance and the form and conditions of grants-in-aid.

With regard to the first of these issues, it is generally suggested that there should be three types of grants. The first is a transfer of additional revenues in order to enable the state governments to plan their programmes in all welfare services with greater confidence and self-reliance; the second is the institution of a general grant for educational purpose but not earmarked for any specific programme; and the third is a specific purpose grant which is intended for a programme organised and implemented with the approval of the Centre. It is obvious that if the autonomy

and independence of the States is to be respected in the educational field, greater reliance will have to be placed on the first two of these grants.

The mistake of the First Five-Year Plan was that innumerable specific purpose grants were created and they naturally led to a tremendous increase in administrative work and red tape. The mischief has been considerably undone in the Second Five-Year Plan by introducing four main groups of grant-in-aid, by authorising the states to reappropriate within the same group, and by introducing the system of ways and means advances. But even now, a good deal remains to be done and it would be worthwhile to simplify the system and to reduce the specific purpose grants still further during the Third Plan.

Another point of extreme importance is that of special financial assistance to backward states or what is called 'an equalisation grant' in American parlance. As pointed out earlier, it is a basic responsibility of the federal government to maintain a uniform standard of social services in general and to equalise educational opportunities in particular. In this respect, our states show immense differences. They differ in the level of development reached at present due mainly to historical accidents; their 'educational loads' *i.e.* the number of children still outside the school also vary greatly; and even the social and economic conditions show equally wide variations so that the states are far from comparable in terms of 'ability' to support education and the difficulty of the task to be performed. The advanced states have a bigger and a more difficult task to perform with more limited resources.

Today, the conditions are so diverse that the expenditure on Primary education in the single city of Bombay is greater than that in the entire state of Orissa. It is for the Government of India to adopt an equalisation grant and level up such differences to the extent possible.

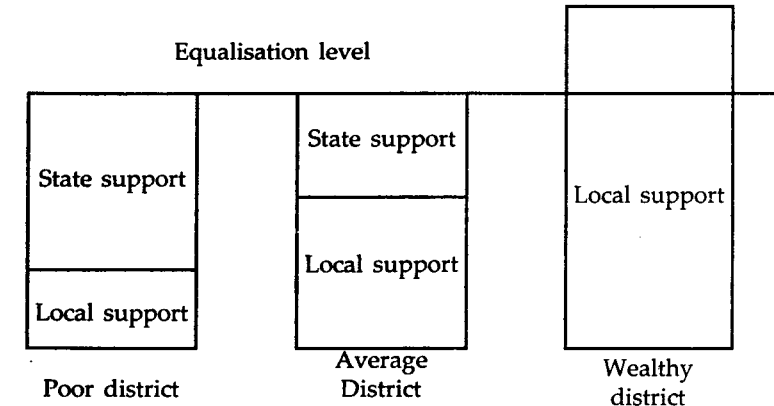
It should also be stated that it is not the object of the equalisation programme to bring all developments to a dead level of uniformity. This need not and cannot be done. What is suggested is a three-fold programme: (1) the federal government should prescribe, from time to time, minimum or foundation

programmes below which no area should be allowed to fall; (2) the freedom of individual states to go ahead should be retained; and (3) the gap between the advanced and the backward states should be continually narrowed down.

It is obvious that this principle of grant-in-aid is diametrically opposed to that of matching grants which gives more to him that hath. Under this concept, some States may get no grant, others may get a medium one and still others may get a large one. Its operation can probably be best described in the following passage from De Young:

The Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States made education the primary responsibility of the individual states. Hence the support of public education became mainly a matter of state concern. Today every state makes some contribution from its revenues for the support of public schools through many types of funds, some of which are described later. An inconsistency exists, however, between the legal intention to provide state support and the many cases of neglect and inadequacy. For the nation as whole, state governments supply only about 40 percent of the cost of schools. Furthermore, the method of distributing such aid is an important factor. Despite favourable arguments for federal support of public education, the fact remains that the individual states will have to give more assistance to schools, particularly through application of the next principle.

Strayer and Haig in 1923 were the first to give a clear-cut picture of the equalisation principle. Their analysis interpreted this principle as the complete equalisation of the burden of a satisfactory minimum educational programme below which no locality could be allowed to go, but above which any locality would be allowed to rise by means of local support. In contradistinction to the payment-for-effort or matching principle, the operation of the equalisation plan tends to shift to more able communities some of the undue burden carried by the less wealthy localities. (see Fig. below) Most states today have a state-local "partnership foundation programme" in which the commonwealth bestows more on these schools which have less in fiscal resources.



How state equalisation works in three types of districts. In the poor district, local effort to support schools produces only a small fraction of the cost of a state-guaranteed minimum or foundation programme. In the district of average wealth, the same effort produces about half the needed fiscal support. The wealthy district receives no state equalisation aid because the local wealth back of each child is great enough to more than finance the minimum programme. The district serves as a lighthouse to indicate better practices.

In brief, the equalisation principle means that governmental agencies collect educational funds where the money is and spend the money where the pupils are. Every man's property and income must be taxed to educate every man's child. Even though a man chooses to send his own children to a parochial or private school he is not exempt from contributing his support to the education of all children. The golden rule in educational finance is: "Thou shalt educate thy neighbour's children as thine own."

At first this idea of equalisation was applied to small areas, as the country and state. Now the old slogan "the wealth of the state must educate the children of the state" is being supplemented with the clause "and the wealth of the United States must be used to equalise the education of all the children in the nation". Furthermore, the phrase "all the children in the nation" implies that more adequate educational opportunities and greater financial support be provided for exceptional or a typical children, since their learning opportunities, as in the case of the

blind, are below par, and the costs of their instruction are above average. American public education will not be genuinely democratic until there is nationwide application of the principle that opportunity and burden shall be equalised for all learners."

The second issue refers to the conditions of grant-in-aid. Here strict adherence to certain general principles is necessary. To begin with the tendency to use grants-in-aid as indirect pressure levers for policy decisions should be discouraged as far as possible. Secondly, the quantum of specific purpose grants should be restricted to the very minimum and confined to basic programmes of national significance only or schemes in the nature of experimental or pilot projects. Thirdly, the procedure for sanctioning these grants will have to be simplified to the utmost. And lastly, a suitable machinery will have to be devised to obtain, from the state governments, a report on the utilisation of grants and the results obtained thereof. This can probably be effectively done by appointing high level advisers who should pay visits to states and submit reports after a special study on the spot.

Another useful suggestion to be made in this context is that the specific purpose grants should be included in the Centrally-sponsored sector. In a centrally-sponsored scheme, 'planning' should be a joint responsibility in which the fundamental principles are laid down by the centre, but a large initiative and freedom is left to state governments to make the Plan suit its local needs and conditions; 'implementation' would be through the state government; and 'finance' would come from the centre on a hundred percent basis and outside the state Plan and ceiling. This will ensure that the programme is most effectively implemented and also that such implementation does not interfere with any other schemes.

## VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the present study, an attempt has been made to examine the various issues concerning the role of the Government of India in education. The problem was approached from three angles, historically, constitutionally and comparatively from the point of the role which the federal governments of some of the foreign countries are playing in education.

In the historical survey which covered the period 1773-1950, it was shown that prior to 1833 the centre had hardly any role to play; between 1833 and 1870 education was virtually a central subject; between 1870 and 1921, while the day-to-day administration was vested in the provincial governments, the Government of India discharged five distinct functions, viz., (1) policy-making, (2) serving as a clearing house for information, (3) promotion of research and publication of suitable literature, (4) coordination and (5) financial assistance; the years 1921-35 saw a virtual divorce between education and central government with disastrous consequences; but more progressive policies were evolved and the Government of India again began to play a more leading role.

In the next section, the Constitutional provisions relating to education were subjected to a close examination and it was shown that the present position is somewhat anomalous. On the one hand, the Constitution takes the simple stand that education, with all residuary powers, is a state subject; while in a number of important fields (such as the provision of educational facilities for children up to the age of 14, the promotion and safeguarding of the cultural interests of the minorities, the need for controlled development of higher education etc., etc.) education appears to be more of a joint responsibility than an exclusive preserve of the states.

The study of the role of the federal government in education in certain other countries showed that the interest and activities of a federal government are not always guided by the provisions of the Constitution and that, in many instances, the federal government is taking a very definite and positive interest in the formulation and implementation of educational programmes even in the absence of any constitutional obligation for that purpose.

In the concluding section of the study, it was suggested that, without trespassing on the autonomy of the states, the centre had a useful role to play in evolving suitable educational policies for the country and that in view of the greater elasticity of the central tax structure it had a very definite responsibility for rendering financial assistance to the states towards the expansion and improvement of educational facilities.



Finally, I would humbly like to state that I am fully aware of the complexity of the issues raised in this paper that I have had no illusions about the finality of the suggestions made herein. My main object in writing and publishing this paper has been to arouse interest in the discussion of the basic questions relating to the role of the Government of India in education. If this fond hope were to materialise, my labours would be more than adequately rewarded.

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## 2

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# Education of the Scheduled Castes (1965-66)

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### PREFACE

The Indian Council of Social Science Research has decided to promote a major research programme on the problems of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

One focus in the proposed programme is to examine the development of education and its effects among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. For this purpose, ten States have been selected. The education of the scheduled tribes will be studied in Assam and Meghalaya, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and that of the scheduled castes, in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. There will be a Project Director for the study in each State and two overall co-ordinators for the programme as a whole. A common design will be prepared for all these studies by a committee consisting of the two overall co-ordinators and the project directors of individual state studies.

As a preliminary to this study, the Council desired that available information regarding education of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should be collected and presented in a brief, consolidated form. Accordingly, this booklet, and another on scheduled tribes, have been prepared. It is hoped that the academic community will find them of interest and use.

New Delhi  
15<sup>th</sup> September, 1971

*M.S. Gore*  
Chairman, ICSSR.

### POPULATION OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES

According to the Census of 1961, the population of the scheduled castes was 64.4 million (31.5 million women). This works out at 13.7 per cent of the total population of India.

The percentage of the scheduled caste population varies from state to state. The lowest percentage is in areas like Nagaland (0.0), Dadra and Nagar Haveli (1.2) and Manipur (1.7). The highest percentage are in West Bengal (19.9), Punjab (20.4), Uttar Pradesh (20.9) and Himachal Pradesh (27.3). The details of the scheduled caste population according to the states and union territories is given in Table I, in the Appendix.

The figures of the population of the scheduled castes in 1965 are not available. It has, however, been assumed that the percentage of the scheduled caste population to the total in each state/union territory in 1965-66 was the same as in 1961.

### Overall Enrolment of Scheduled Castes in all Educational Institutions

The total enrolment of Scheduled Caste students in all types of recognised educational institutions increased from 49.67 lakhs in 1960-61 to 76.90 lakhs in 1965-66. The corresponding figures for girls were 11.84 lakhs (or 23.8 per cent of the total enrolment) in 1960-61 and 26.16 lakhs or (27.6 per cent of the total enrolment) in 1965-66. The break-up of this enrolment between the different categories of educational institutions is shown in Table 1.

It will be seen that the additional enrolment during this five-year period has been of the order of 27.23 lakhs. The largest increase has been in primary schools (about 16 lakhs). The increase in middle schools has been about 6.56 lakhs, and in secondary schools about 4.24 lakhs.

### The Coefficient of Equality

The important question to be asked in this context is: is this enrolment of the scheduled castes in different types of educational institutions adequate and how does it compare with that of the other communities? To answer this question tentatively the concept of 'coefficient of equality' has been evolved.

Let us assume that the scheduled caste population is 'A' and that the enrolment of scheduled caste students in educational

institutions is 'B'. Let us further assume that the population of other communities is 'C' and that their enrolment is 'D'. Then the "coefficient of equality" is defined as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Proportion of scheduled caste enrolment To the enrolment from other communities}}{\text{Proportion of scheduled caste population To the population of other communities}} = \frac{\frac{B}{A}}{\frac{D}{C}} \times 100$$

**Table 1: Enrolment of Scheduled castes by Type of Institutions in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

S.No	Type of Institutions	Number Enrolled			
		1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Schools</i>					
1. Pre-Primary		6,452	2,851	1,1530	5,197
2. Primary/Junior Basic		3,196,538	829,147	4,800,628	1,391,252
3. Middle/Senior Basic		920,429	236,384	1,576,507	452,110
4. High/Higher Secondary		532,621	74,486	956,867	179,512
5. Vocational		*	*	18,785	4,996
6. Special		*	*	2,272	255
7. Others		*	*	229,536	72,997
8. Total (Schools)		4,656,040	1,142,868	7,596,125	2,106,319
9. Colleges for General Education		38,709	3,192	53,685	4,971
10. Colleges for Professional Education		271,949	38,306	29,851	4,532
11. Colleges for Other Education		*	*	2,642	100
12. Universities, etc.		**	**	3,811	263
13. Total (Colleges&Universities)		310,658	41,498	93,800	18,884
14. Grand Total		4,666,698	1,184,366	7,686,114	2,116,185

\* Shown against colleges for professional education, as separate figures are not available.

\*\* Included under colleges for general education.

\*\*\* Includes schools for vocational, special and other education also in 1960-61.

If equality of educational opportunity were to be provided to scheduled castes, it is clear that the proportion of their enrolment in any given category of educational institutions to the enrolment of other communities should be the same as the proportion of their population to the population of other communities. In other words, the coefficient of equality, as defined above, should be 100. In practice, however, this coefficient will either be more than 100 or less than 100. If it is more than 100, we may infer that, in this particular type of education, the scheduled castes are ahead of the other communities. On the other hand, where the coefficient of equality is less than 100, it can be inferred that the scheduled castes are lagging behind the other communities.

Taking India as a whole, the percentage of the scheduled caste population to that of other communities is 18.7. The enrolment of scheduled caste students in different categories of educational institutions should therefore be 18.7 per cent of the enrolment from other communities, if equality of educational opportunity has to be provided to the scheduled castes. Table No. 2 will, however, show that the scheduled castes are still lagging behind the other communities in every category of educational institutions and that the coefficient of equality is still much less than 100 in every case.

It will be seen from Table 2 that the coefficient of equality, for India as a whole, was only 64.7 in 1960-61 and it increased only to 68.4 in 1965-66. This implies that the scheduled castes have still a fairly long way to go to even up with the educational development of the other communities.

Perhaps the most satisfactory position is at the primary stage where the coefficient of equality stood at 77.5 in 1960-61 and increased to 84.5 in 1965-66.

One more point which comes out from these data deserves notice. There is a sharp reduction in the coefficient of equality as one moves up the educational ladder. For instance, in 1965-66, the extent of coverage at the primary stage was 84.5. If the rates of wastage and stagnation among the scheduled castes were to be the same as those in the other communities, the coefficient of equality even at the middle school stage should have been 84.5. But we find that this dropped suddenly to 57.8. The implication is that the rates of wastage and stagnation among the scheduled

castes are considerably higher than those in the other communities. The same conclusion also applied to the secondary stage where the coefficient of equality drops still further, to 45.5.

**Table 2**  
**Percentage Enrolment Ratio and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled Castes in Different Categories of Institutions (1960-61 and 1965-66)**

S.No	Type of Institutions	Percentage EnrolmentRatio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
Schools					
1.	Pre-Primary	3.8	5.9	20.3	31.6
2.	Primary/Junior Basic	14.5	15.8	77.5	84.5
3.	Middle/Senior Basic	9.9	10.8	52.9	57.8
4.	High/Higher Secondary	7.7	8.5	41.2	45.5
5.	Vocational	*	8.5	*	45.5
6.	Special	*	11.3	*	60.4
7.	Others	*	16.5	*	88.2
8.	Total (Schools)	12.1	13.1	64.7	70.1
9.	Colleges for General Education	5.4	4.9	28.9	26.2
10.	Colleges for Professional Education***	14.7	5.1	78.6	27.3
11.	Colleges for Other Education*	*	2.8	*	15.0
12.	Universities, etc.	*			
13.	Total (Colleges & Universities)	12.1	4.9	64.7	26.2
14.	Grand Total	12.1	12.8	64.7	68.4

\* Shown against colleges for professional education, as separate figures are not available.

\*\* Included under Colleges for General Education.

\*\*\* Includes schools for Vocational, Special and other Education also in 1960-61.

At the university stage, the coefficient of equality shows yet another drop, it being only 26.2 in Colleges of General Education and 27.3 in Colleges of Professional Education. In the universities, the coefficient of equality is still lower, 15.0. This shows that, in spite of the facilities being made available in the form of scholarships, the spread of higher education among the Scheduled castes is still only about one-fourth of that in the other communities.

The broad conclusions that arise from these statistics may, therefore, be stated as follows:

- 1) The coefficient of equality of the scheduled castes is only about two-thirds of that of the other communities. The reasons for this have to be ascertained and early steps have to be taken to raise the coefficient to 100.
- 2) The rates of wastage and stagnation at the primary and secondary stages are much higher for the Scheduled castes than for the other communities. The reasons for this also need examination and necessary steps will have to be taken to reduce the existing high rates of wastage and stagnation.
- 3) The number of scheduled caste students that go up to the university stage is still comparatively very small, the coefficient of equality being only about 26 or 27. In the universities, where students generally study at the postgraduate stage, the enrolment of the scheduled castes drops down still further. Why this happens in spite of the very liberal facilities provided by government is another point for examination.

#### Coefficient of Equality according to States/Union Territories

The picture with regard to coefficient of equality of the scheduled castes in all categories of educational institutions shows considerable variations from state to state. These variations, in so far as total enrolment in all categories of educational institutions is concerned, are given in Table 3.

At the first glance, it will be seen that the coefficient of equality is about 100 or more in the states of Assam, Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu and in the Union Territories of Manipur, Pondicherry and Tripura. The high extent of coverage in Maharashtra needs an explanation and is probably due to the

fact that while several scheduled caste persons have registered themselves as Neo-Buddhists at the Census, their children will continue to be classified as scheduled castes in the registers of the educational institutions.

The coefficient of equality is very low in the States of Jammu and Kashmir (20.7), Punjab (49.2), Himachal Pradesh (46.7), Uttar Pradesh (53.4), Bihar (57.4), Rajasthan (58.6), West Bengal (61.1), Madhya Pradesh (62.3), and Mysore (64.3). Obviously special efforts are:

**Table 3 : Percentage Enrolment Ratio and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled castes in all Educational Institutions in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	13.0	14.3	77.4	85.1
2.	Assam	10.2	9.1	125.9	112.3
3.	Bihar	10.4	10.5	56.8	57.4
4.	Gujarat	7.4	8.5	89.2	102.4
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	4.9	1.8	56.3	20.7
6.	Kerala	10.8	10.6	114.9	112.8
7.	Madhya Pradesh	10.2	12.4	51.5	62.6
8.	Maharashtra	11.0	10.8	171.9	168.8
9.	Mysore	8.7	9.9	56.5	64.3
10.	Orissa	13.3	18.8	50.8	71.8
11.	Punjab	11.3	12.6	44.1	49.2
12.	Rajasthan	4.9	13.6	21.1	58.6
13.	Tamil Nadu	165	18.4	91.7	102.2
14.	Uttar Pradesh	14.9	14.1	56.4	53.4
15.	West Bengal	19.3	16.2	72.8	61.1
16.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	-	13.2	-	76.7
17.	Delhi	7.0	8.3	47.6	56.5
18.	Himachal Pradesh	10.5	19.8	24.8	46.7
19.	Manipur	2.0	2.8	76.9	107.7
20.	Pondicherry	24.4	17.8	134.1	97.8
21.	Tripura	16.4	17.9	90.6	98.9
	India	12.1	12.8	64.7	68.4

N.B.: The states/union territories for which information is not available have not been included.

Needed in these states to promote education among the scheduled castes. It is rather surprising that the coefficient of equality in the union territory of Delhi should be as low as (59.4). The matter needs investigation.

It will also be seen from Table 3 that the coefficient of equality has decreased, during the period under review, in Jammu & Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Pondicherry, whereas it has remained constant in Bihar. This is also not a happy sign.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE POSITION IN DIFFERENT STATES/UNION TERRITORIES IN IMPORTANT CATEGORIES OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

We shall now turn to the discussion of the present status of the education of scheduled castes in each important category of educational institutions in the different states and union territories.

##### Pre-Primary Schools

The present position regarding enrolment of Scheduled castes in pre-primary schools recognised by the education departments in different states and union territories and the extent of coverage is given in Table 4.

At present, pre-primary education is inadequately developed. Most of the pre-primary schools, recognised by the State Education Departments, are private, and fee-supported. They are also mostly urban and availed of by the more well-to-do sections of the society. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the children of the scheduled castes would not be adequately enrolled, and, as the statistics show, the coefficient of equality has been very low at the pre-primary stage—20.3 in 1960-61 and 31.6 in 1965-66 in India as a whole. Variations according to states are given in Table 4.

*Primary Education (Classes I-V):* The position regarding the enrolment of the Scheduled castes in primary schools (Classes I-V) varies from state to state and is given in Table 5.

It will be seen from Table 5 that the enrolment of scheduled castes may be said to be satisfactory in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra (the high

coefficient is due, as stated earlier, on account of the neo-Buddhists), Orissa and Tamil Nadu. It is, however, far from happy in several states, For instance, the coefficient of equality in Jammu & Kashmir (29.9), Uttar Pradesh (59.1), Punjab (61.7), Bihar (70.5), West Bengal (74.7) and Madhya Pradesh (76.3) is below the national average. Some special efforts are obviously needed in these states.

**Table 4**  
**Statewise Percentage Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled castes to Other Communities and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled castes in Pre-Primary Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	5.1	8.1	30.4	48.2
2.	Assam	0.4	2.9	4.9	35.8
3.	Bihar	3.4	1.5	18.6	8.2
4.	Gujarat	1.3	3.3	15.7	39.8
5.	Kerala	6.9	5.7	73.4	60.6
6.	Madhya Pradesh	0.6	4.8	3.0	24.2
7.	Maharashtra	7.1	3.6	110.9	56.3
8.	Mysore	3.9	5.1	25.3	33.1
9.	Punjab	0.8	0.9	3.1	3.5
10.	Rajasthan	—	21.1	—	90.9
11.	Tamil Nadu	5.7	17.7	31.7	98.3
12.	Uttar Pradesh	0.5	1.6	1.9	6.1
13.	West Bengal	3.4	7.5	12.8	28.3
14.	Delhi	—	1.2	—	8.2
15.	Himachal Pradesh	—	4.1	—	9.7
16.	Pondicherry	20.3	19.6	111.5	107.7
17.	Tripura	24.7	33.2	136.5	183.4
	India	3.8	5.9	20.3	31.6

N.B.: (1) The States and Union Territories for which data was not available have not been mentioned in the Table.

(2) The Table does not also include data about Balwadis, etc., conducted by the Department of Social Welfare.

Table 5

**Statewise Percentage Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled castes to Other Communities and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled castes in Primary Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	14.3	16.8	85.1	100.0
2.	Assam	11.3	10.3	139.5	127.2
3.	Bihar	12.1	12.9	66.1	70.5
4.	Gujarat	7.5	9.5	90.4	114.5
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	2.4	2.6	27.6	29.9
6.	Kerala	12.3	12.0	130.9	127.7
7.	Madhya Pradesh	11.9	15.1	60.1	76.3
8.	Maharashtra	12.0	11.3	187.5	176.6
9.	Mysore	11.9	13.5	77.3	87.7
10.	Orissa	15.3	22.3	58.4	85.1*
11.	Punjab	14.0	15.8	54.7	61.7
12.	Rajasthan	4.7	19.5	20.3	84.1
13.	Tamil Nadu	20.6	21.7	114.4	120.6
14.	Uttar Pradesh	16.7	15.6	62.3	59.1
15.	West Bengal	22.1	19.8	83.4	74.7
16.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	-	34.1	-	198.3
17.	Delhi	11.3	15.2	76.9	103.4
18.	Himachal Pradesh	9.3	23.7	21.9	55.9
19.	Manipur	2.2	3.6	84.6	138.5
20.	Pondicherry	33.2	24.9	182.4	136.8
21.	Tripura	16.1	18.6	89.0	102.8
	India	14.5	15.8	77.5	84.5

\* Figures relate to 1959-60 instead of 1960-61.

N.B.: The States/Union Territories from which data were not available have not been included.

### Middle School Education (Classes VI-VIII)

The position relating to the enrolment of the scheduled castes in middle schools (Classes VI-VIII) is given in Table 6. The overall picture is similar to that in Table 5, subject to the general observation that the enrolment and consequently the coefficient of equality, at the middle school stage, is much less than at the primary stage. This, as stated earlier, is due to the fact that the wastage rates among the scheduled castes are higher than those for other communities. It will also be seen that the coefficient of equality is far from satisfactory in Jammu & Kashmir (18.4), Orissa (33.6), Punjab (40.6), Rajasthan (42.2), Uttar Pradesh (45.8) and Bihar (49.2).

### Secondary Education

The percentage of enrolment of Scheduled Caste students in secondary schools to enrolment from other communities as well as the coefficient of equality in 1960-61 and 1965-66 arranged according to states/union Territories, are given in Table 7. It will be seen therefrom that the percentage of enrolment of the scheduled caste students to enrolment from other communities was 7.7 in 1960-61 and that it increased to 8.5 in 1965-66. The coefficient of equality also increased from 41.2 in 1960-61 to 45.5 in 1965-66. Generally, there has been an increase in the coefficient of equality except in Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Mysore, Uttar Pradesh and the Union Territory of Delhi. The sharp fall in the extent of coverage in Jammu & Kashmir is probably due to some statistical error, but that in the other states needs careful examination. The causes for this decline will have to be ascertained and the necessary remedial steps taken.

An important point arises in this context, especially because there is a steep drop from the coefficient of equality at the middle schools stage to that at the secondary stage: who goes in for secondary education? It is the brighter boys that get this chance or do many of them get eliminated on account of economic factors? Secondly, in what type of institutions do the scheduled caste students get admission? Do they get adequate representation in good schools or not? There is an apprehension that, in the present situation, when planned efforts by the State are not made for placement of students, it is likely that several talented

scheduled caste students are not in a position to proceed to secondary education and that many of them have get enrolled in the weaker and more poorly equipped schools. This affects their career and is probably one of the reasons why the quality of secondary education among the scheduled castes does not improve. These matters will have to be carefully examined.

**Table 6 : State wise Percentage Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled castes to Other Communities and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled castes in Middle Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	Percentage EnrolmentRatio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	10.2	10.3	60.7	61.3
2.	Assam	8.0	8.9	98.8	109.9
3.	Bihar	8.9	9.0	48.6	49.2
4.	Gujarat	7.9	9.5	95.2	114.5
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	2.1	1.6	24.1	18.4
6.	Kerala	9.3	10.3	98.9	109.6
7.	Madhya Pradesh	9.4	10.7	47.5	54.0
8.	Maharashtra	11.6	10.0	181.3	156.3
9.	Mysore	6.7	9.1	43.5	59.1
10.	Orissa	8.9	8.8	34.0	33.6*
11.	Punjab	10.2	10.4	39.8	40.6
12.	Rajasthan	3.7	9.8	15.9	42.2
13.	Tamil Nadu	13.2	18.0	73.3	100.0
14.	Uttar Pradesh	13.9	12.1	52.7	45.8
15.	West Bengal	14.4	16.2	54.3	61.1
16.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	-	11.0	-	64.0
17.	Delhi	7.7	9.6	52.4	65.3
18.	Himachal Pradesh	10.3	21.8	24.3	51.4
19.	Manipur	1.4	1.8	53.8	69.2
20.	Pondicherry	19.3	17.5	106.0	96.2
21.	Tripura	13.1	14.2	72.4	78.5
	India	9.9	10.8	52.9	57.8

\* Figures relate to 1959-60 instead of 1960-61.

N.B.: The states/union territories from which data were not available have not been included.

**Table 7**

**Statewise Percentage Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled castes to Other Communities and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled castes in High/Higher Secondary Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	Percentage EnrolmentRatio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	9.0	9.6	53.6	57.1
2.	Assam	8.2	7.5	101.2	92.6
3.	Bihar	6.7	6.4	36.6	35.0
4.	Gujarat	4.1	5.6	49.4	67.5
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	11.2	1.1	128.7	12.6
6.	Kerala	8.3	9.4	88.3	100.0
7.	Madhya Pradesh	4.5	7.3	22.7	36.9
8.	Maharashtra	8.0	9.5	125.0	148.4
9.	Mysore	5.6	5.4	36.4	35.1
10.	Orissa	4.5	6.7	17.2	63.7*
11.	Punjab	9.3	10.0	36.3	39.1
12.	Rajasthan	3.3	6.8	14.2	29.3
13.	Tamil Nadu	8.9	12.7	49.4	70.6
14.	Uttar Pradesh	10.6	9.4	40.2	35.6
15.	West Bengal	6.7	7.2	25.3	27.2
16.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	-	7.0	-	40.7
17.	Delhi	3.9	3.7	26.5	25.2
18.	Himachal Pradesh	13.9	15.4	32.8	36.3
19.	Manipur	1.5	1.7	57.7	65.4
20.	Pondicherry	20.3	9.5	111.5	52.2
21.	Tripura	4.6	8.0	25.4	44.2
	India	7.7	8.5	41.2	45.5

\* Figures relate to 1959-60 instead of 1960-61.

N.B.: The States/Union Territories for which data were not available have not been included.

Connected with this stage is the problem of hostels. A large number of scheduled caste students admitted to hostels are studying at the secondary stage. Their performance in schools is

thus intimately connected with the management of these hostels. In a hostel which is properly conducted and where individual attention is provided to students, it is possible to get much better results than in another where these essential factors are not adequately attended to. An examination of the working of the scheduled caste hostels, especially from the point of view of the individual care they take of their inmates, is, therefore an important problem.

There is one more question to be examined at this stage. Many of the scheduled caste students who enter secondary schools have had their earlier education in weak primary schools. They are not, therefore, as properly equipped for secondary education as the average secondary school entrant: and it therefore becomes necessary to provide some individual attention to these students in the secondary schools to which they are admitted if their performance at the secondary stage is to improve. In some schools, such provision of individual attention is done from a sense of social responsibility; but it is feared that many schools do not take the necessary steps in this regard. It is, therefore, necessary to find out to what extent the scheduled caste students admitted to secondary schools get that individual attention which they need and to suggest concrete measures under which this could be made available to all the students.

### Vocational Education

Details of enrolment in vocational schools of different categories are available, separately for each category, for 1965-66 only. These have been given in Table VII in the Appendix. It will be seen therefrom that the total enrolment of scheduled caste students in all vocational schools in 1965-66 was 18785. Of this, the largest number (9050) was enrolled in technical schools. Next came Teacher Training Institutions with an enrolment of 6802, followed by commercial institutions with an enrolment of 1425. Industrial institutions had an enrolment of 601 and agricultural institutions of 531. The least enrolments were registered in nursing, midwifery and compoundary (163) and miscellaneous vocations (213). The need to emphasize increasing enrolments in the para-medical courses is obvious.

Taking all categories of vocational schools, it is seen that the enrolment of scheduled caste students was only 8.5 per cent of the enrolment from other communities which give coefficient of

equality of 45.5 per cent only. The details of this coverage, according to states/union territories, is given in Table 8.

**Table 8**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled castes in Vocational Technical**  
**Schools in 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	Total Enrolment	Girls	Percentage Enrolment Ratio	Coefficient of Equality
1.	Andhra Pradesh	2,879	1458	41.8	248.8
2.	Assam	504	125	6.9	85.2
3.	Bihar	134	22	7.0	38.3
4.	Gujarat	2,500	731	7.4	89.2
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	47	4	11.7	134.5
6.	Kerala	789	185	9.3	98.9
7.	Madhya Pradesh	79	16	2.4	12.1
8.	Maharashtra	3,159	787	7.9	123.4
9.	Mysore	1,473	317	3.8	24.7
10.	Orissa	727	69	7.3	27.9
11.	Punjab	1,867	98	12.1	47.3
12.	Rajasthan	6	3	1.2	5.2
13.	Tamil Nadu	1,093	160	10.3	57.2
14.	Uttar Pradesh	2,178	457	10.4	39.4
15.	West Bengal	873	508	5.5	20.8
16.	Delhi	401	24	32.0	217.7
17.	Manipur	5.7	-	0.3	11.5
18.	Pondicherry	22	12	10.9	59.9
19.	Tripura	45	20	7.7	42.5
	India	18,785	4996	8.5	45.5

It is necessary to investigate the causes that impede adequate enrolment of the scheduled caste students in technical/vocational institutions and to adopt appropriate remedies.

### Special Schools

The Special Schools generally include institutions meant for physically and mentally handicapped children and reformatories. Separate information regarding enrolment of scheduled caste children in these schools is available for 1965-66 only. The total



enrolment in the country as a whole was 2272 (of which 295 were girls) which forms 11.3 per cent of the enrolment from other communities and gives a coefficient of equality of 60.4.

### Other Schools

This group of educational institutions includes adult education classes, institutions for oriental studies and other miscellaneous institutions. Taking the country as a whole, the enrolment of scheduled castes in these institutions was 229,536. But the bulk of this enrolment was in two states of Maharashtra (119032) and West Bengal (56244). The bulk of the enrolment in Maharashtra was in adult education classes (119022) and the same is true of West Bengal (56048). Table 9 shows the total enrolment from other communities and the coefficient of equality in different States & Union Territories.

**Table 9: Enrolment of Scheduled castes in Schools for Other Education in 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	Total Enrolment	Percentage Enrolment Ratio	Coefficient of Equality
1.	Andhra Pradesh	6,502	34.0	202.4
2.	Assam	5,821	5.8	71.6
3.	Bihar	3,075	4.3	23.5
4.	Gujarat	7,131	11.0	132.5
5.	Madhya Pradesh	2,212	9.6	48.5
6.	Maharashtra	119,032	18.2	284.4
7.	Mysore	9,957	18.8	122.1
8.	Orissa	9,300	34.9	133.2
9.	Punjab	1,315	21.3	83.2
10.	Rajasthan	572	0.4	1.7
11.	Tamil Nadu	1,795	31.8	176.7
12.	Uttar Pradesh	473	28.4	107.6
13.	West Bengal	56,244	28.3	144.5
14.	Delhi	98	0.3	2.0
15.	Himachal Pradesh	2,032	13.6	32.1
16.	Manipur	175	5.3	203.8
17.	Pondicherry	923	86.7	476.4
18.	Tripura	2,879	38.0	209.9
	India	229,536	16.5	88.2

### Classwise Enrolments

The school stage is generally divided into 12 classes. The percentage of the enrolment of the students of the Scheduled castes in each of these 12 classes to the enrolment from other communities in the same class and the coefficient of equality are shown in Table 10.

**Table 10**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled castes in Classes I-X (1965-66)**

Classes	Enrolment	Percentage Enrolment Ratio	Coefficient of Equality
Pre-Primary	11,678	4.8	25.7
I	2,280,420	14.7	78.6
II	1,345,246	15.1	80.7
III	1,017,159	14.2	75.9
IV	746,695	12.7	67.9
V	548,870	11.8	63.1
VI	401,018	10.9	58.3
VII	318,485	10.5	56.1
VIII	259,352	10.1	54.0
IX	189,450	9.4	50.3
X	144,133	8.6	46.0
XI	58,241	7.5	40.1
XII	4,454	6.1	32.6
Total	7,325,201	13.0	69.5

It will be seen that the coefficient of equality is highest in Class II (80.7). But it begins to drop thereafter because the rates of wastage and stagnation are higher for the scheduled castes than for the community as a whole. At the end of Class V, where lower primary stage is completed, the coefficient of equality has already

dropped down to 63.1. By the end of Class VII, where the middle school stage is completed, it drops down further to 56.1; and at the end of class XII, when the secondary stage comes to an end, it drops down still further to 32.6.

### Universities and Colleges of General Education

The total enrolment of scheduled castes in universities was 3811 and in colleges of general education, 53,685 thus making a total enrolment of 57,496 in 1965-66 as against 38,709 in 1960-61.

There are two main questions that arise in this context. The first is the determination of reasons which keep the coefficient of equality at this stage so low in spite of the fact that almost every student of the scheduled caste is given a scholarship if he were to attend a university or a college. The second is still more serious and refers to the fact that the coefficient of equality at this stage seems to be decreasing rather than increasing. Both these problems will have to be probed in depth.

The general issues raised at the secondary stage have a relevance at the university stage also. For instance, it will be necessary to study why there is a steep drop in the coefficient of equality from the secondary to the university stage. The type of students who are transferred to the university stage and those who drop out will also have to be studied to determine whether it is the more intelligent or the less intelligent group that gets kept out. Equally important are the problems relating to admissions of scheduled caste students to good institutions and the provision of individual guidance to them. In addition, it is also necessary to ascertain the difficulties scheduled caste students in higher education have to face and why a large proportion of them seem to deteriorate in achievement at the university stage.

### The Total Enrolment of Scheduled castes in the Universities and Colleges of General Education

The percentage of this enrolment to total enrolment in these institutions and the extent of coverage is given in Table 11.

**Table 11**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled Caste in Universities or Colleges of General Education (1965-66)**

<i>Classes</i>	<i>Enrolment</i>	<i>Percentage Enrolment Ratio</i>	<i>Coefficient of Equality</i>
1. Andhra Pradesh	3,515	5.8	34.5
2. Assam	1,840	5.4	66.7
3. Bihar	3,836	3.9	21.3
4. Gujarat	1,879	3.0	36.1
5. Jammu and Kashmir	118	1.0	11.5
6. Kerala	4,593	4.7	50.0
7. Madhya Pradesh	2,885	3.9	19.7
8. Maharashtra	11,113	8.7	135.9
9. Mysore	1,696	3.1	20.1
10. Orissa	488	2.1	8.0
11. Punjab	3,007	4.2	16.4
12. Rajasthan	1,137	2.9	12.5
13. Tamil Nadu	4,244	5.3	29.4
14. Uttar Pradesh	6,241	4.5	17.0
15. West Bengal	9,970	6.4	24.2
16. Delhi	717	2.2	15.0
17. Himachal Pradesh	69	3.6	8.5
18. Manipur	36	0.7	26.9
19. Pondicherry	5	0.3	1.6
19. Tripura	107	4.6	25.4
India	57,496	4.9	26.2

### Colleges of Professional Education

The enrolment of scheduled caste students in colleges of professional education in 1965-66 was 29851. Of this, the largest number were in Teacher Training Institutions (11,004). Next in order came institutions of Engineering and Technology (9,659) which were followed by Commerce Colleges (3,476) and Medical Colleges (2,658). Law had enrolled 1139 students and Agriculture 956. The details of enrolments according to States are given in Table VIII in the Appendix.

Table 12 shows the extent of coverage in different types of professional education in 1965-66.

**Table 12**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled Caste Students in Professional Higher Education (1965-66) by Stages**

S.No	Type of Education	Percentage		Coefficient of Equality
		Enrolment	Enrolment Ratio	
1.	Agriculture	1297	3.9	20.9
2.	Commerce	6576	4.3	23.0
3.	Engineering and Technology	8086	3.7	19.8
4.	Fine Arts	267	2.6	13.9
5.	Law	1,399	4.1	21.9
6.	Medicine			
	a) Allopathy	23,754.1	21.9	
	b) Others	332	2.7	14.4
7.	Veterinary Science	199	2.9	15.5
8.	Physical Education	112	3.4	18.2
9.	Social Work/ Social Science	118	5.7	30.5
10.	Teacher Training	10,300	6.9	36.9
11.	Others	739	4.9	26.2
	Total	31,800	4.5	24.1

### Scheduled Caste Teachers

Precise data about scheduled caste teachers is not readily available. On the whole, however, there is a general view that the recruitment of scheduled caste teachers falls short of the proportional quotas laid down and that the discrepancy between the quotas prescribed and the actual numbers recruited increases as one goes up the educational ladder. There are also no studies about the difficulties and problems which the scheduled caste teachers at different stages primary, secondary, university have to face in social life, in educational institutions, in recruitment and in their services. These problems need studies in depth.

### Some Problems for Research and Further Studies

The preceding discussion has shown that the scheduled castes have still a long way to go to reach equality with the community as a whole. In order to understand the problems that have impeded their progress in the past and also to devise measures which will accelerate their progress in the future, it is necessary to study the several problems which have been indicated already. However, they may be summed up, for convenience of reference, as follows:

- 1) Why is the extent of coverage of the scheduled castes still low? Why is this coverage especially low in states like Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh?
- 2) What are the special problems which the scheduled caste students have to face at the primary stage? How can their enrolment at this stage be increased?
- 3) Why is it that the rates of wastage and stagnation at the school stage are higher in the scheduled castes than in the community as a whole? What measures can be taken to reduce them?
- 4) Who are the scheduled caste students that are transferred from the primary to the secondary stage?
- 5) What difficulties are faced by them at this stage?
- 6) Who are the scheduled caste students that are transferred from secondary to the university stage?
- 7) What are the difficulties experienced by scheduled caste students in getting admission to good secondary schools, good colleges and universities in the country? How can these difficulties be minimised?
- 8) Do scheduled caste students, admitted to secondary schools, colleges and universities, get enough personal attention and personal guidance necessary for them? If not, what arrangements can be made for this purpose?
- 9) How is the programme of scholarships to scheduled caste students at the university stage operating in practice? What are the practical difficulties experienced by the Scheduled

Caste students in this regard and how can they be overcome?

- 10) How are the hostels for scheduled caste students at the secondary and university stage being managed at present? How can their management be improved? What measures can be adopted to secure increased accommodation for scheduled caste students in the general hostels?
- 11) What are the difficulties faced by scheduled caste students in getting admission to vocational and technical schools and colleges of professional education? How can these difficulties be minimised?
- 12) What are the problems faced by scheduled caste teachers of various categories in urban and rural, in social life, in educational institutions, in recruitment and in the services? How can these be removed?

A comprehensive programme for a study of these problems on a national basis is now being developed in the Indian Council of Social Science Research.

APPENDIX  
Statistical Table

Table I  
Population of Scheduled castes in 1960

S.No	State/Union Territory	Population of scheduled caste	Scheduled Caste Population as percentage of population of other communities
1	2	3	4
1.	Andhra Pradesh	49,73,616	16.8
2.	Assam	732,756	8.1
3.	Bihar	6,536,875	18.3
4.	Gujarat	1,367,255	8.3
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	284,131	8.7
6.	Kerala	1,434,817	9.4
7.	Madhya Pradesh	4,253,024	19.8
8.	Maharashtra	2,226,914	6.4

(Contd...)

9.	Karnataka	3,117,232	15.4
10.	Nagaland	126	0.5
11.	Orissa	2,763,858	26.2
12.	Punjab	4,139,106	25.6
13.	Rajasthan	3,359,640	23.2
14.	Tamil Nadu	6,067,327	18.0
15.	Uttar Pradesh	15,399,881	26.4
16.	West Bengal	6,890,134	26.5
17.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	985	17.2
18.	Delhi	341,555	14.7
19.	Himachal Pradesh	369,916	42.4
20.	Manipur	13,376	2.6
21.	Pondicherry	56,845	18.2
22.	Tripura	119,725	18.1
	India	64,449,476	18.7

Table II  
Enrolment of Scheduled castes in Educational Institutions of All Categories in 1960-61 and 1965-66

S.No	State/Union Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1,421,639	145,861	603,635	222,854
2.	Assam	112,692	37,904	143,339	48,156
3.	Bihar	390,735	52,157	469,509	53,951
4.	Gujarat	180,725	50,467	282,092	82,564
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	14,781	2,398	7,982	1,219
6.	Kerala	324,061	139,995	406,335	181,206
7.	Madhya Pradesh	214,296	29,317	373,249	61,153
8.	Maharashtra	543,550	152,195	768,273	242,202
9.	Karnataka	229,265	69,551	381,555	137,746
10.	Orissa	178,434	36,698	299,243	81,947
11.	Punjab	218,586	28,686	377,013	83,661

(Contd...)

12. Rajasthan	70,113	6,224	260,785	27,785
13. Tamil Nadu	626,833	207,608	974,375	359,582
14. Uttar Pradesh	733,323	60,861	1436,618	296,544
15. West Bengal	639,060	149,350	767,196	199,041
16. Dadra and Nagar Haveli	N.A	N.A	226	776
17. Delhi	31,876	5,196	58,650	14,079
18. Himachal Pradesh	10,369	1,450	34,372	7,941
19. Manipur	2,241	828	3,965	1,575
20. Pondicherry	9,025	3,000	10,909	3,763
21. Tripura	15,094	4,620	26,364	8,961
India	4,966,698	1,184,366	7,686,114	2116,185

**Table III**  
Enrolment of Scheduled castes in Pre-Primary Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66

S.No	State/Union Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Andhra Pradesh		323	125	383	199
2. Assam		22	7	35	12
3. Bihar		41	43	43	13
4. Gujarat		615	243	1,480	603
5. Kerala		88	48	484	246
6. Madhya Pradesh		73	34	743	289
7. Maharashtra		2,254	1,009	1,082	493
8. Karnataka		506	224	1,725	729
9. Punjab		11	4	4	2
10. Rajasthan		-	-	242	107
11. Tamil Nadu		183	75	537	229
12. Uttar Pradesh		45	17	303	90
13. West Bengal		239	99	641	271
14. Delhi		-	32	13	
15. Himachal Pradesh		-	-	18	6
16. Pondicherry		354	157	397	215
17. Tripura		1,698	786	3,381	1,680
India		6,452	2,871	11,530	5,197

**Table IV**  
Enrolment of Scheduled castes in Primary/Junior Basic Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66

S.No	State/Union Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Andhra Pradesh		328,119	123,541	445,414	178,599
2. Assam		80,947	30,296	94,799	35,074
3. Bihar		266,396	42,948	318,232	40,280
4. Gujarat		43,370	15,227	65,889	22,279
5. Jammu and Kashmir		3,488	486	4,329	600
6. Kerala		196,212	90,166	202,570	92,046
7. Madhya Pradesh		157,087	23,400	259,765	49,124
8. Maharashtra		178,086	57,000	198,616	66,488
9. Karnataka		134,326	42,095	162,871	66,863
10. Orissa		160,919	35,360	260,800	77,024
11. Punjab		122,004	21,619	220,628	56,895
12. Rajasthan		38,659	4,131	198,820	23,369
13. Tamil Nadu		424,175	150,146	541,607	214,877
14. Uttar Pradesh		565,822	62,256	1,182,711	278,105
15. West Bengal		459,803	131,486	569,634	166,371
16. Dadra & Nagar Haveli		-	-	70	33
17. Delhi		19,104	3,494	32,239	10,229
18. Himachal Pradesh		4,118	859	18,553	4,611
19. Manipur		1,612	667	2,877	1,288
20. Pondicherry		3,727	1,243	4,053	1,442
21. Tripura		8,555	2,721	15,951	5,575
India		3,196,529	839,141	4,800,628	1,391,252

**Table V**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled castes in Middle/Senior Basic Schools in**  
**1960-61 and 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	32,325	9,868	56,365	19,066
2.	Assam	12,537	4,050	19,075	5,881
3.	Bihar	61,423	5,982	101,741	11,864
4.	Gujarat	104,234	29,783	171,098	50,731
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	1,346	260	1,882	381
6.	Kerala	65,235	27,641	106,479	47,354
7.	Madhya Pradesh	39,446	4,216	73,716	8,703
8.	Maharashtra	248,196	72,649	308,264	96,592
9.	Karnataka	73,305	24,159	175,610	63,561
10.	Orissa	7,886	766	16,036	1,992
11.	Punjab	29,297	3,303	52,102	12,059
12.	Rajasthan	11,248	803	39,397	3,299
13.	Tamil Nadu	129,027	41,713	283,306	105,306
14.	Uttar Pradesh	67,197	5,139	105,993	10,732
15.	West Bengal	27,490	3,534	37,781	8,042
16.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	-	-	138	43
17.	Delhi	4,629	1,016	15,068	3,154
18.	Himachal Pradesh	2,012	245	6,239	1,233
19.	Manipur	259	49	408	157
20.	Pondicherry	2,420	935	3,837	1,403
21.	Tripura	1,107	273	1,827	492
	India	920,619	236,384	1,576,507	452,110

**Table VI**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled castes in Secondary Schools in 1960-61**  
**and 1965-66**

S.No	State/Union Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	45,244	10,446	84,696	21,683
2.	Assam	15,119	2,938	20,838	4,783
3.	Bihar	31,570	871	40,675	1,249
4.	Gujarat	13,997	1,366	31,168	5,786
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	9,163	1,623	1,553	217
6.	Kerala	52,586	19,785	89,752	39,431
7.	Madhya Pradesh	11,607	1,320	32,585	2,658
8.	Maharashtra	60,136	7,237	123,179	23,171
9.	Mysore	13,479	2,450	25,896	4,539
10.	Orissa	4,182	207	11,633	702
11.	Punjab	63,107	3,572	96,702	13,710
12.	Rajasthan	6,336	176	18,693	599
13.	Tamil Nadu	56,115	12,937	136,013	36,809
14.	Uttar Pradesh	87,595	3,054	133,454	6,670
15.	West Bengal	47,974	4,441	88,881	14,826
16.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	—	18	—	—
17.	Delhi	7,455	654	9,480	554
18.	Himachal Pradesh	4,197	344	7,331	1,344
19.	Manipur	273	106	459	88
20.	Pondicherry	1,823	590	1,632	510
21.	Tripura	663	69	2,145	349
	India	532,621	74,186	956,867	179,512

Table VII: Enrolment of Scheduled Castes in Different Types of Vocational/Technical Schools in 1965-66

S.No.	State/Union Territory	Teacher Training	Agriculture	Commerce	Nursery Midwifery and Compounding	Technical	Music and Fine Arts	Others	Total
1.	Andhra Pradesh	352	-	-	-	2,418	109	-	2,879
2.	Assam	192	9	179	7	53	64	-	504
3.	Bihar	-	-	-	1	135	2	-	138
4.	Gujarat	1,544	46	245	27	585	43	10	2,500
5.	Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	-	-	47	-	-	47
6.	Kerala	-	-	-	-	744	45	-	789
7.	Madhya Pradesh	-	-	-	8	71	-	-	79
8.	Maharashtra	2,322	• 394	-	69	110	151	113	3,159
9.	Mysore	47	3	976	10	365	39	33	1,473
10.	Orissa	463	50	-	37	136	16	25	727
11.	Punjab	-	-	-	-	1,867	-	-	1,867
12.	Rajasthan	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	6
13.	Tamil Nadu	-	28	-	-	1,065	-	-	1,093
14.	Uttar Pradesh	1,803	-	-	-	288	87	-	2,178
15.	West Bengal	44	-	-	-	760	42	27	873
16.	Delhi	-	-	25	-	376	-	-	401
17.	Manipur	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
18.	Pondichery	-	-	-	-	17	-	5	22
19.	Tripura	-	1	-	4	40	-	-	45
	India	6,775	531	1,425	163	9,077	601	213	18,785

Table VIII: Enrolment of Scheduled Castes in Colleges of Professional Education (1965-66)

S.No.	State/Union Territory	Agriculture	Commerce	Engineering & Technology	Teacher Training	Law				Medicine		Nursing & Midwifery		Others	Total
						Allopathic	Others	Allopathic	Others	Allopathic	Others	Allopathic	Others		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12				
1	Andhra Pradesh	132	20	1,103	1,746	76	606	16	8	77	3,784				
2	Assam	27	127	2	168	56				25	405				
3	Bihar	61	30	533	914	145	10	2		35	1,730				
4	Gujarat	11	188	284	26	134	36	12		32	723				
5	Jammu & Kashmir	10	3	15			6	4			38				
6	Kerala	4		254	1,095	46	96	40		12	1,547				
7	Madhya Pradesh	32	65	500	515	31	47	15		35	1,240				
8	Maharashtra	170	1515	686	257	291	176	117	114	148	3,474				
9	Mysore	65	78	1,019	361	69	447	2	25	8	2,074				
10	Orissa	31		88	77	8	18			30	256				
11	Punjab	36	4	445	706		51	5	17	53	1,317				
12	Rajasthan	33	58	255	268		67	2	41	14	1,438				
13	Tamil Nadu	110		597	3,499	33	513	7		100	4,859				

(Contd...)

(Contd....)

S.No.	State/Union Territory	Agriculture	Commerce	Engineering & Technology	Teacher Training	Law	Medicine				Nursing & Midwifery		Others	Total
							Allopathic	Others	9	10	11	12		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8							
14	Uttar Pradesh	258		2,228	436	48	34		69			76		3,149
15	West Bengal	1488	1,023	317	90	109		32	25	62		3,149		
16	Delhi			395	29		36		4	1		3		468
17	Himachal Pradesh	1	-	88	41	-	-		-	-		-		130
18	Manipur		•	4	1									5
19	Pondichery		1			23				13				37
20	Tripura		14	14								1		29
	India	956	3,476	9,659	11,004	1,139	2,331		327	244		711		29,851

## 3

## Education of the Scheduled Tribes (1965-66)

## PREFACE

The Indian Council of Social Science Research has decided to promote a major research programme on the problems of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

One focus in the proposed programme is to examine the development of education and its effects among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. For this purpose, ten states have been selected. The education of the scheduled tribes will be studied in Assam and Meghalaya, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and that of the scheduled castes in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. There will be a Project Director for the study in each state and two overall co-ordinators for the programme as a whole. A common design will be prepared for all these studies by a committee consisting of the two overall co-ordinators and the project directors of individual state studies.

As a preliminary to this study, the Council desired that available information regarding education of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should be collected and presented in a brief, consolidated form. Accordingly, this booklet, and another on scheduled castes, have been prepared. It is hoped that the academic community will find them of interest and use.

New Delhi  
15<sup>th</sup> September, 1971

M. S. Gore  
Chairman, ICSSR



### POPULATION OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES

According to the Census of 1961, the population of the Scheduled tribes was 30.13 million or 6.8 per cent of the total population of India.

The percentage of the scheduled tribe population varies from State to State. It is negligible or small in states like Kerala or Tamil Nadu and very high in states like Madhya Pradesh, Orissa or Nagaland. The details of the scheduled tribes' population according to the states and Union Territories is given in the Appendix, Table 1.

The figures of the population of the scheduled tribes in 1965 are not available. It has, however, been assumed that the percentage of the scheduled tribe population to the total in each state/union territory in 1965-66 was the same as in 1961.

### Overall Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in all Educational Institutions

The total enrolment of scheduled tribe students in all types of recognised educational institutions increased from 19.22 lakhs in 1960-61 to 29.65 lakhs in 1965-66. The corresponding figures for girls were 4.76 lakhs in 1960-61 and 8.05 lakhs in 1965-66. The break-up of this enrolment between the different categories of educational institutions is shown in Table 1.

It will be seen that the additional enrolment during the five year period has been of the order of 10.44 lakhs. The largest increase has been in primary schools (6.85 lakhs); the increase in middle schools was 2.05 lakhs, and in secondary schools, 1.11 lakhs.

### The Coefficient of Equality

The important question to be asked in this context is: is this enrolment of the scheduled tribes in different types of educational institutions adequate and how does it compare with that of the other communities? To answer this question tentatively, the concept of 'coefficient of equality' has been evolved.

Let us assume that the scheduled tribe population is 'B' and that the enrolment of scheduled tribe students in educational institutions is 'A'. Let us further assume that the population of other communities is 'D' and that their enrolment is 'C'. Then the "coefficient of equality" is defined as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Proportion of scheduled tribe enrolment To the enrolment from other communities}}{\text{Proportion of scheduled tribe population To the population of other communities}} = \frac{\frac{A}{C}}{\frac{B}{D}} \times 100$$

**Table 1**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes by Type of Institutions in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

Sl No.	Type of Institutions	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	
<i>Schools</i>					
1. Pre-Primary		4,298	2,061	7,260	3,354
2. Primary / Junior Basic		13,36,703	3,48,730	20,21,722	5,65,679
3. Middle/ Senior Basic		3,50,252	85,8,938	5,55,348	1,43,111
4. High/Higher Secondary		94,480	14,157	2,05,398	39,855
5. Vocational		*	*	6,036	1,347
6. Special		*	*	409	13
7. Others		*	*	1,49,675	48,436
8. Total (Schools)		17,85,733	4,50,886	29,45,848	8,01,795
<i>Colleges</i>					
9. Colleges for General Education		7,266	1,108	13,515	2,318
10. Colleges for Professional Education***		1,28,932	24,003	5,659	869
11. Colleges for Other education		*	*	176	14
12. University, etc.		**	**	426	60
13. Total (Colleges and Universities)		1,36,198	25,111	19,824	3,261
14. Grand Total		19,21,931	4,75,997	29,65,624	8,05,056

\* Shown against colleges for professional education, as separate figures are not available.

\*\* Included under Colleges for General Education.

\*\*\* Includes Schools for Vocational, Special and Other Education also in 1960-61.

If equality of educational opportunity were to be provided to scheduled tribes, it is clear that the proportion of their enrolment in any given category of educational institutions to the enrolment of other communities should be the same as the proportion of their population to the population of other communities. In other words, the coefficient of equality, as defined above, should be 100. In practice, however, this coefficient will either be more than 100 or less than 100. If it is more than 100, we may infer that, in this particular type of education, the scheduled tribes are ahead of the other communities. On the other hand, where the coefficient of equality is less than 100, it can be inferred that the scheduled tribes are lagging behind the other communities.

Taking India as a whole, the percentage of the scheduled tribes populations to that of other communities is 8.7. The enrolment of scheduled tribe students in different categories of educational institutions should, therefore, be 8.7 per cent of the enrolment from other communities, if equality of educational opportunity has to be provided to the scheduled tribes. Table 2 will, however, show that the scheduled tribes are still lagging behind the other communities in every category of educational institutions and that the coefficient of equality is still much less than 100 in every case. It may even be said that the coefficient of equality for Scheduled tribes is lower than that for the Scheduled castes.

It will be seen from Table 2 that the coefficient of equality, for India as a whole, was only 54.0 in 1960-61 and that it increased only to 57.5 in 1965-66. This implies that the Scheduled tribes have still a fairly long way to go to even up with the educational development of other communities.

Perhaps, the most satisfactory position is at the primary stage where the coefficient of equality stood at 69.0 in 1960-61 and increased to 77.00 in 1965-66.

One more point which comes out from these data deserves notice. There is a sharp reduction the coefficient of equality as one moves up the educational ladder. For instance, in 1965-66, the coefficient of equality at the primary stage was 77.0. If the rates of wastage and stagnation among the scheduled tribes were to be the same as those in the other communities, the coefficient of equality even at the middle school stage should have been 77.0.

But we find that this dropped suddenly to 42.5. The implication is that the rate of wastage and stagnation among the scheduled tribe are considerably higher than those in the other communities. The same conclusion also applies to the secondary stage where the coefficient of equality drops still further, to 19.5.

**Table 2**  
**Percentage Enrolment Ratio and Co-efficient of Equality for Scheduled tribes in Institutions by Type (1960-61 and 1965-66)**

Sr. No.	Type of Institutions	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Schools</i>					
1. Pre-Primary		2.6	3.7	29.9	42.5
2. Primary/Junior Basic		6.0	6.7	69.0	77.0
3. Middle/ Senior Basic		3.6	3.7	41.4	42.5
4. High/Higher Secondary		1.3	1.7	14.9	19.5
5. Vocational		*	2.7	*	31.0
6. Special		*	2.0	*	23.0
7. Others		*	10.7	*	123.0
8. Total (Schools)		4.7	5.1	54.0	58.6
<i>Colleges</i>					
9. Colleges for General Education		1.0	1.2	11.5	13.8
10. Colleges for Professional Education***		1.0		11.5	
11. Colleges for Other education		0.2		2.3	
12. University, etc.		**	**	**	**
13. Total (Colleges and Universities)		1.1		12.6	
14. Grand Total		4.7	5.0	54.0	57.5

\* Shown against colleges for professional education, as separate figures are not available.

\*\* Included under Colleges for General Education.

\*\*\* Includes Schools for Vocational, Special and Other Education also.

At the university stage, the coefficient of equality shows yet another drop, it being only 13.8 in universities and colleges of general education and 11.5 in colleges of professional education. It is thus evident that, in spite of the facilities being made available in the form of scholarships, the spread of higher education among the Scheduled tribes is still only about one-eighth of that in the other communities.

The broad conclusions that arise from these statistics may, therefore, be stated as follows:

- 1) The coefficient of equality of the scheduled tribes in all educational institutions is only about two-thirds of that of the other communities. It is even lower than that of the scheduled castes. The reasons for this have to be ascertained and early steps have to be taken to raise it.
- 2) The rates of wastage and stagnation at the primary and secondary stages are much higher for the scheduled tribes than for the other communities or even for the scheduled castes. The reasons for this also need examination and necessary steps will have to be taken to reduce the existing high rates of wastage and stagnation.
- 3) The number of scheduled tribe students that go up to the university stage is still comparatively very small. Why this happens in spite of the liberal facilities provided by government is another point for examination.

#### Coefficient of Equality according to State / Union Territories

The picture with regard to coefficient of equality of the scheduled tribes in all categories of educational institutions showed considerable variations from state to state. These variations, in so far as total enrolment in all categories of educational institutions is concerned, are given in Table 3.

At the first glance, it will be seen that the coefficient of equality is about 100 or more in two states only, Assam (125.9) and Manipur (111.4). It is also fairly high in Bihar (83.9), Maharashtra (71.0), other states and union territories (60.0), and Andhra Pradesh (55.6). In all other states, it is about 50 per cent or less. This is a far from satisfactory situation.

**Table 3: Percentage Enrolment Ratio and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled tribes in all Educational Institutions in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

Sl No.	State / Territory	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	2.1	2.5	46.7	55.6
2.	Assam	29.1	28.7	127.6	125.9
3.	Bihar	9.1	9.9	7.1	83.9
4.	Gujarat	9.5	7.8	56.9	46.7
5.	Madhya Pradesh	11.9	15.7	38.3	50.5
6.	Maharashtra	3.9	4.9	56.5	71.0
7.	Orissa	12.1	19.8	30.3	49.5
8.	Rajasthan	2.0	7.4	12.6	46.5
9.	West Bengal	4.2	3.4	53.2	43.0
10.	A. & N. Islands	—	10.9	—	38.1
11.	Himachal Pradesh	5.0	4.4	40.3	35.5
12.	Manipur	40.9	53.6	85.0	111.4
13.	Tripura	29.5	26.1	54.2	48.0
14.	Other States / Union Territories	0.3	0.3	60.0	60.0
	Total	4.7	5.0	54.0	57.5

It will be also be seen from Table 3 that the coefficient of equality has decreased, during the period under review, in Gujarat, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh and Tripura. This is not a happy sign and the causes for it need investigation.

#### Analysis of the Position in Different States / Union Territories In Important Categories of Educational Institutions

We shall now turn to the discussion of the present status of the education of scheduled tribes in each important category of educational institutions in the different states and union territories.

### Pre-primary Schools

The position regarding enrolment of scheduled tribes in pre-primary schools recognised by the Education Departments in different states and union territories and the coefficient of equality is given in Table 4.

**Table 4**  
**Statewise Percentage Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled Tribes to Other Communities and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled tribes in Pre-Primary Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

Sl No.	State / Territory	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	0.2	3.0	4.4	66.7
2.	Assam	27.0	165	118.4	723.7
3.	Bihar	—	1.5	—	12.7
4.	Gujarat	0.2	1.6	1.2	9.6
5.	Madhya Pradesh	2.8	2.6	9.0	8.4
6.	Maharashtra	1.2	1.2	17.4	17.4
7.	Rajasthan —	2.9	—	—	—
8.	West Bengal	1.6	1.6	20.3	20.3
9.	Himachal Pradesh	—	3.6	—	29.0
10.	L.M. & A. Islands	—	50.0	—	1.5
11.	Tripura	25.6	31.9	47.1	58.6
12.	Other States/ Union Territories	0.04	0.2	8.0	40.0
	Total	4.7	5.0	54.0	57.5

1) The above Table does not also include data about Balwadis, etc., conducted by the Department of Social Welfare.

At present, pre-primary education is adequately developed. Most of the pre-primary schools, recognised by the State Education Departments, are private and fee-supported. They are also mostly urban. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the children of the scheduled tribes, many of whom live in thinly populated

and inaccessible areas, would not be adequately enrolled. As the statistics show, the coefficient of equality has been very low at the pre-primary stage 79.9 in 1960-61 and 42.5 in 1965-66 in India as a whole. Variations according to states are given in Table 4. Surprisingly enough, the coefficient of equality for scheduled tribes at this stage is higher than that for scheduled castes.

### Primary Education (Classes I-V)

The position regarding the enrolment of the scheduled tribes in primary schools (Classes I-V) varies from state to state and is given in Table 5.

**Table 5**  
**Statewise Percentage Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled Tribes to Other Communities and Coefficient of Equality in Primary Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

Sl No.	State / Territory	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	2.7	3.4	60.0	75.6
2.	Assam	35.2	35.6	154.4	156.1
3.	Bihar	10.7	12.7	90.7	107.6
4.	Gujarat	15.2	14.1	91.0	84.4
5.	Madhya Pradesh	15.7	23.1	50.5	74.3
6.	Maharashtra	7.9	7.3	114.5	105.8
7.	Orissa	13.3	22.6	33.3	56.5
8.	Rajasthan	2.4	11.0	15.0	69.2
9.	West Bengal	4.4	4.2	54.7	53.2
10.	A. & N. Islands	—	14.7	—	51.4
11.	Himachal Pradesh	7.8	4.2	62.9	33.9
12.	Manipur	45.4	64.9	94.4	134.9
13.	Tripura	37.2	30.2	68.4	55.5
14.	Other States/ Union Territories	0.3	0.3	60.0	60.0
	Total	6.0	6.7	69.0	77.0

It will be seen from Table 5 that the enrolment of scheduled tribes may be said to be satisfactory in the states of Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra and Manipur. It is, however, far from happy in several states. For instance, the coefficient of equality is only 33.9 in Himachal Pradesh, 53.2 in West Bengal, 55.5 in Tripura, 56.5 in Orissa, 69.2 in Rajasthan and 74.3 in Madhya Pradesh. Some special efforts are obviously needed in these States, especially as they have large tribal populations.

### Middle School Education (Classes VI-VIII)

The position relating to the enrolment of the scheduled tribes in middle schools (Classes VI-VIII) is given in Table 6. The overall

**Table 6**  
**Statewise Percentage Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled tribes to Other Communities and Coefficient of Equality in Middle Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

Sl No.	State / Territory	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	0.8	0.9	17.8	20.0
2.	Assam	20.9	26.3	91.7	115.4
3.	Bihar	8.7	8.8	73.7	74.6
4.	Gujarat	8.7	7.4	52.1	44.3
5.	Madhya Pradesh	7.6	7.5	24.4	24.1
6.	Maharashtra	2.5	3.4	36.2	49.3
7.	Orissa	13.1	9.6	32.8*	24.0
8.	Rajasthan	0.9	4.7	5.7	29.6
9.	West Bengal	3.8	4.0	48.1	50.6
10.	A. & N. Islands	—	3.0	—	10.5
11.	Himachal Pradesh	3.0	1.5	24.2	12.1
12.	Manipur	38.6	47.0	80.2	97.7
13.	Tripura	14.3	14.6	26.3	26.8
14.	Other States/				
	Union Territories	0.4	0.4	80.0	80.0
	Total	3.6	3.7	41.4	42.5

\* Figures relate to 1959-60 instead of 1960-61

picture is similar to that in Table 5, subject to the general observation that the enrolment, and consequently the coefficient of equality at the middle school stage, is much less than at the primary stage. This, as stated earlier, is due to the fact that the wastage rates among these scheduled tribes are higher than those for other communities. It will also be seen that the coefficient of equality is far from satisfactory in Himachal Pradesh (12.1), Andhra Pradesh (20.0), Orissa (24.0), Madhya Pradesh (24.1), Tripura (26.8) and Rajasthan (29.6).

A major problem of enrolment of the children from the scheduled tribes at the primary and middle school stages is that they largely live in isolated, thinly-populated and inaccessible areas. Unless the programme of Ashram schools is sufficiently expanded, it will not be possible to provide universal education to tribal children.

### Secondary Education

The percentage of enrolment of scheduled tribe students in secondary schools to the enrolment from other communities as well as the coefficient of equality in 1960-61 and 1965-66, arranged according to state / union territories, are given in Table 7.

It will be seen therefrom that the percentage of enrolment of the scheduled tribe students to enrolment from other communities was 1.3 in 1960-61 and that it increased to 1.7 in 1965-66. The coefficient of equality also increased from 14.9 in 1960-61 to 19.5 in 1965-66. Generally, there has been an increase in the coefficient of equality except in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. The sharp fall in the coefficient of equality in West Bengal is probably due to some statistical error. The causes for this decline will have to be ascertained and the necessary remedial steps taken.

An important point arises in this context, especially because there is a steep drop from the coefficient of equality at the middle school stage to that at the secondary stage: who goes in for secondary education? Is it the brighter boys that get this chance or do many of them get eliminated on account of economic factors? Secondly, in what type of institutions do the scheduled tribe students get admission? Do they get adequate representation in good schools or not? There is an apprehension that, in the

present situation, when planned efforts by the State are not made for placement of students, it is likely that several talented scheduled tribe students are not in a position to proceed to secondary education and that many of them have to get enrolled in the weaker and more poorly equipped schools. This affects their career and is probably one of the reasons why the quality of secondary education among the scheduled tribes does not improve. These matters will have to be carefully examined.

**Table 7**  
**Statewise Percentage Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled tribes to Other communities and Coefficient of Equality for Scheduled tribes in High / Higher Secondary Schools in 1960-61 and 1965-66**

Sl No.	State / Territory	Percentage Enrolment Ratio		Coefficient of Equality	
		1960-61	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Andhra Pradesh	0.7	0.7	15.6	15.6
2.	Assam	11.0	15.9	48.2	69.7
3.	Bihar	4.1	3.8	34.7	32.2
4.	Gujarat	2.0	2.8	12.0	16.8
5.	Madhya Pradesh	2.4	3.9	7.7	12.5
6.	Maharashtra	1.1	2.3	15.9	33.3
7.	Orissa	3.9	5.7	9.8*	14.3
8.	Rajasthan	0.6	3.5	3.8	22.0
9.	West Bengal	14.6	1.5	184.8	19.0
10.	A. & N. Islands	7.0 •		24.5	
11.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	21.3		2.4	
12.	Himachal Pradesh	3.0	3.3	24.2	26.6
13.	Manipur	21.9	28.4	45.5	59.0
14.	Tripura	0.7	7.1	1.3	13.1
15.	Other States/ Union Territories	0.1	0.2	20.0	40.0
	Total	1.3	1.7	14.9	19.5

\* Figures relate to 1959-60 instead of 1960-61

Connected with this stage is the problem of hostels. A large number of scheduled tribe students admitted to hostels are

studying at the secondary stage. Their performance in schools is thus intimately connected with the management of these hostels. In a hostel which is properly conducted and where individual attention is provided to students, it is possible to get much better results than in another where these essential factors are not adequately attended to. An examination of the working of the scheduled tribe hostels, especially from the point of view of the individual care they take of their inmates, is, therefore, an important problem.

There is one more question to be examined at this stage. Many of the scheduled tribe students who enter secondary schools have had their earlier education in weak primary schools. They are not, therefore, as properly equipped for secondary education as the average secondary school entrant; and it, therefore, becomes necessary to provide some individual attention to these students in the secondary schools to which they are admitted if their performance at the secondary stage is to improve. In some schools, such provision of individual attention is done from a sense of social responsibility; but it is feared that many schools do not take the necessary steps in this regard. It is, therefore, necessary to find out to what extent the scheduled tribes students admitted to secondary schools get that individual attention which they need and to suggest concrete measures under which this could be made available to all the students.

### Vocational Education

Details of enrolment in vocational schools of different categories are available, separately for each category, for 1965-66 only. These have been given in the Appendix (Table VII). It will be seen therefrom that the total enrolment of Scheduled tribes students in all vocational schools in 1965-66 was 6,036. Of this, the largest number (2,656) was enrolled in Teacher Training Institutions. Next came Technical Schools with an enrolment of 2,137, followed by commercial institutions with an enrolment of 427. Agricultural institutions had an enrolment of 351. The least enrolments were registered in nursing, mid-wifery and compounding (157) and music and fine arts (110). The need to emphasize increasing enrolments in vocational, and especially in para-medical, courses is obvious.

Taking all categories of vocational schools, it is seen that the enrolment of scheduled tribe students was only 2.7 per cent of the enrolment from other communities in 1965-66. This gives a coefficient of equality of 31.0 only. The details of this coverage, according to state/union territories, is given in Table 8. It is necessary to investigate the causes that impede adequate enrolment of the scheduled tribe students in technical / vocational institutions and to adopt appropriate remedies.

**Table 8**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Vocational / Technical Schools in 1965-66**

S No.	State / Union Territory	Total Enrolment	Girls	Percentage Enrolment Ratio	Coefficient of Equality
1.	Andhra Pradesh	344	68	5.0	111.1
2.	Assam	1,175	272	16.0	70.2
3.	Bihar	103	64	5.2	44.1
4.	Gujarat	1,079	288	3.2	19.2
5.	Madhya Pradesh	308	38	9.2	29.6
6.	Maharashtra	1,113	185	2.8	40.6
7.	Orissa	1,055	111	10.6	26.5
8.	Rajasthan	1	1	0.2	1.3
9.	West Bengal	144	72	0.9	11.4
10.	Manipur	401	176	26.1	54.3
11.	Tripura	26	10	4.5	8.3
12.	Other States/ Union Territories	129	62	0.1	20
	India	6,036	1,347	2.7	31

N.B. Data about Himachal Pradesh and A. & N. Islands, not available.

### Special Schools

The Special Schools generally include institutions meant for physically and mentally handicapped children and reformatories. Separate information regarding the enrolment of scheduled tribe children in these schools is available for 1965-66 only. The total enrolment in the country as a whole was 409 (of which 13 were

girls) which forms 2.0 of the enrolment from other communities and gives a coefficient of equality of 23.0.

### Other Schools

This group of educational institutions includes adult education classes, institutions for oriental studies and other miscellaneous institutions. Taking the country as a whole, the enrolment of Scheduled tribes in these institutions was 1,49,675. The bulk of this enrolment was in six states of Maharashtra (77,511), Orissa (22,832), West Bengal (11,867), Andhra Pradesh (11,884), Gujarat (8,464) and Tripura (5,318). Table 9 shows the enrolment from scheduled tribes, their percentage enrolment ratio to other communities and the coefficient of equality in different states and union territories.

**Table 9**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Schools for Other Education in 1965-66**

S No.	State/Union Territory	Enrolment	Percentage equality Ratio	Coefficient of
1.	Andhra Pradesh	751	3.9	86.7
2.	Assam	11,884	11.8	51.8
3.	Bihar	977	1.4	11.9
4.	Gujarat	8,464	13.1	78.4
5.	Madhya Pradesh	2,609	11.3	36.3
6.	Maharashtra	77,511	11.9	172.5
7.	Orissa	22,832	85.6	214.0
8.	Rajasthan	270	0.2	1.3
9.	West Bengal	11,867	8.1	102.5
10.	Himachal Pradesh	2,181	14.6	117.7
11.	Manipur	3,703	112.0	232.8
12.	Tripura	5,318	70.2	129.0
13.	Other States/ Union Territories	348	0.3	60.0
	India	1,49,679	10.8	124.1

N.B. Data for A. & N. Islands, not available.

### Classwise Enrolment

The school stage is generally divided into 12 classes. The percentage of the enrolment of the students of the scheduled tribes in each of these 12 classes to the enrolment from other communities in the same class and the coefficient of equality are shown in Table 10.

**Table 10**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Classes I-X, 1965-66**

<i>Classes</i>	<i>Enrolment</i>	<i>Percentage Enrolment Ratio</i>	<i>Coefficient of Equality</i>
Pre-Primary	7,342	3.0	34.5
I	10,85,059	7.0	80.5
II	5,18,788	5.8	66.7
III	3,55,134	4.9	56.3
IV	2,58,295	4.4	50.6
V	1,87,368	4.0	46.0
VI	1,27,914	3.5	40.2
VII	95,774	3.2	36.8
VIII	66,217	2.6	29.9
IX	43,024	2.1	24.1
X	32,622	1.9	21.8
*XI	20,049	2.6	29.9
*XII	5,508	7.6	87.4
	28,03,094	5.0	57.5

\*Some Enrolment in classes XI and XII in U.P. state has been included under the colleges of General Education. The present statistics, therefore, do not present a clear picture in these two classes.

It will be seen that the coefficient of equality is highest in class II (80.5). But it begins to drop thereafter because the rates of wastage and stagnation are higher for the scheduled tribes than for the community as a whole. At the end of class V, where lower primary stage is completed, the coefficient of equality has already dropped down to 46.0. By the end of class VIII, where the middle school stage is completed, it drops down further to 29.9; and at the end of class X, when the lower secondary stage comes to an end, it drops down still further to 21.8.

### Universities and Colleges of General Education

In 1965-66, the total enrolment of scheduled tribes in universities was 426 (60 girls) and in colleges of general education, 13,515 thus making a total enrolment of 13,941 which gives a coefficient of equality of 13.8 only.

The main question that arises in this context is the determination of reasons which keep the coefficient of equality at this stage so low in spite of the fact that every student of the scheduled tribes is given a scholarship if he were to attend a university or a college. This needs, as stated earlier, a very careful examination.

The general issues raised at the secondary stage have a relevance at the university stage also. For instance, it will be necessary to study why there is a steep drop in the coefficient of equality from the secondary to the university stage. The type of students who are transferred to the university stage and those who drop out will also have to be studied to determine whether it is the more intelligent or the less intelligent group that gets kept out. Equally important are the problems relating to admissions of scheduled tribe students to good institutions and the provision of individual guidance to them. In addition, it is also necessary to ascertain the difficulties scheduled tribe students in higher education have to face and why a large proportion of them seem to deteriorate in achievement at the university stage.

### The Total Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in the Universities and Colleges of General Education

The enrolment of Scheduled tribes at this stage and the coefficient of equality is given in Table 11.

### Colleges of Professional Education

The enrolment of Scheduled Tribe students in colleges of professional education in 1965-66 was 5,659 (869 girls). Of this, the largest number were in Teacher Training Institutions (2,244). Next in order came institutions of Engineering and Technology (1,644), which were followed by Law (527) and Medical Colleges (479). Commerce had enrolled 351 students and Agriculture, 190. The details of enrolments according to States are given in Table VIII in the Appendix.



**Table 11**  
Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Universities and  
Colleges of General Education, 1965-66

Classes	Enrolment	Percentage Enrolment Ratio	Coefficient of Equality
1. Andhra Pradesh	241	0.4	8.9
2. Assam	4,548	13.3	58.3
3. Bihar	3,491	3.5	29.7
4. Gujarat	436	0.7	4.2
5. Madhya Pradesh	1,233	1.7	5.5
6. Maharashtra	887	0.7	10.1
7. Orissa	344	1.5	
8. Rajasthan	470	1.2	3.8
9. West Bengal	352	0.3	3.8
10. Himachal Pradesh	69	3.6	29.0
11. Manipur	859	17.5	36.4
12. Tripura	102	4.4	8.1
13. Other States/ Union Territories	599	0.1	20.0
India	13,941	1.2	13.8

Table 12 shows the coefficient of equality in different types of professional education in 1965-66.

#### Scheduled Tribe Teachers •

Precise data about Scheduled Tribe Teachers is not readily available. On the whole, however, there is a general view that the recruitment of scheduled tribe teachers fall short of the proportional quotas laid down and that the discrepancy between the quotas prescribed and the actual numbers recruited increases as one goes up the educational ladder. There are also no studies about the difficulties and problems which the scheduled tribe teachers at different stages primary, secondary, university – have to face in social life in educational institutions, in recruitment and in their services. These problems need studies in depth.

**Table 12**  
Enrolment of Scheduled tribes Students in  
Professional Higher Education, (1965-66), by stages

S No. Type of Education	Enrolment	Percentage Enrolment Ratio	Coefficient of Equality
1. Agriculture	190	0.6	6.9
2. Commerce	351	0.5	5.7
3. Engineering & Technology	1,644	0.6	6.9
4. Law	527	1.6	18.4
5. Medicine			
a) Allopathy	411	0.7	8.0
b) Others	68	0.5	5.7
6. Teacher Training	2,244	1.5	17.2
7. Others	100	0.9	10.3
Total	5,659	0.8	9.2

#### Some Problems for Research and Further Studies

The preceding discussion has shown that the Scheduled tribes have still a long way to go to reach equality with the community as a whole. In order to understand the problems that have impeded their progress in the past and also to devise measures which will accelerate their progress in the future, it is necessary to study the several problems that have been referred to already. However, they may be summed up, for convenience of reference, as follows:

- 1) Why is the coefficient of equality of the scheduled tribes still low? Why is this coefficient especially low in some states?
- 2) What are the special problems which the scheduled tribe students have to face at the primary stage? How can their enrolment at this stage be increased?
- 3) Why is it that the rates of wastage and stagnation at the school stage are higher in the case of scheduled tribes than in the community as a whole? What measures can be taken to reduce them?

- 4) Who are the scheduled tribe students that are transferred from the primary to secondary stage?
- 5) What difficulties are faced by them at this stage?
- 6) Who are the scheduled tribe students that are transferred from secondary to the university stage?
- 7) What are the difficulties experienced by scheduled tribe students in getting admission to good secondary schools, good colleges and universities in the country? How can these difficulties be minimised? What special educational problems (e.g. language load) do they have?
- 8) Do scheduled tribe students admitted to secondary schools, colleges and universities get enough personal attention and individual guidance necessary for them? If not, what arrangements can be made for this purpose?
- 9) How is the programme of scholarships to scheduled tribe students at the university stage operating in practice? What are the practical difficulties experienced by the scheduled tribe students in this regard and how can they be overcome?
- 10) How are the Ashram schools and hostels of scheduled tribe students at the secondary and university stages being managed at present? How can their management be improved? What measures can be adopted to secure increased accommodation for scheduled tribe students in the general hostels?
- 11) What are the difficulties faced by scheduled tribe students in getting admission to vocational and technical schools and colleges of professional education? How can these difficulties be minimised?
- 12) What are the problems faced by scheduled tribe teachers of various categories in urban and rural areas, in social life, in educational institutions, in recruitment and in the services? How can these be removed?
- 13) A comprehensive programme for a study of these problems on a national basis is now being developed in the Indian Council of Social Science Research.

## APPENDIX

**Table 1**  
**Population of Scheduled tribes (1961)**

<i>Sr. No.</i>	<i>States</i>	<i>Population of Scheduled tribes</i>	<i>Percentage to total population</i>
1.	Andhra Pradesh	13,24,368	3.7
2.	Assam	20,64,816	17.4
3.	Bihar	42,04,770	9.1
4.	Gujarat	27,54,446	13.3
5.	Jammu and Kashmir		*
6.	Kerala	2,12,762	1.3*
7.	Madhya Pradesh	66,78,410	20.6
8.	Maharashtra	23,97,159	6.1
9.	Mysore	1,92,096	0.8*
10.	Orissa	42,23,757	24.1
11.	Punjab	14,132	0.0*
12.	Rajasthan	23,09,447	11.5
13.	Tamil Nadu	2,51,991	0.7*
14.	Uttar Pradesh		*
15.	West Bengal	20,54,081	5.9
16.	Nagaland	3,43,697	93.1**
17.	Andaman and Nicobar	14,122	22.2
18.	Delhi		
19.	Himachal Pradesh	1,08,194	8
20.	L.M. & A. Islands	23,391	97.0**
21.	Manipur	2,49,049	31.9
22.	Tripura	3,60,070	31.5
23.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	51,259	88.4**
24.	Pondicherry	N.A.	N.A.
25.	N.E.F.A.	2,98,167	88.6
		3,01,30,184	6.8

\* Data not studied because of the small population of tribals.

\*\* Data for tribal population is not very different for total state data.

**Table 2**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Educational Institutions of all Categories in 1960-61 & 1965-66**

Sl No.	State/Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1.	Andhra Pradesh	69,394	21,530	1,04,149	34,634
2.	Assam	3,22,387	1,15,774	4,49,680	1,74,199
3.	Bihar	3,43,792	69,092	4,42,091	1,03,184
4.	Gujarat	2,33,721	62,753	2,57,984	75,533
5.	Madhya Pradesh	2,50,033	34,386	4,71,914	89,970
6.	Maharashtra	1,93,229	46,604	3,44,454	1,05,963
7.	Nagaland	47,619	17,097	73,649	25,733
8.	Orissa	1,62,343	31,870	3,15,317	80,325
9.	Rajasthan	28,344	1,611	1,41,651	15,640
10.	West Bengal	1,37,394	26,724	1,60,997	33,410
11.	A. & N. Islands	N.A.	N.A.	1,028	295
12.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	N.A.	N.A.	4,135	634
13.	Himachal Pradesh	4,951	665	7,605	2,026
14.	L.M & A.Islands	4,109	1,340	5,127	1,717
15.	Manipur	45,998	13,476	74,654	24,688
16.	Tripura	27,144	15,547	38,485	10,012
17.	Others	51,473	17,528	72,704	27,093
	India	19,21,931	4,75,997	29,65,624	8,05,056

**Table 3**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Primary Schools in 1960-61 & 1965-66**

Sl No.	State/Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1.	Andhra Pradesh	12	7	143	74
2.	Assam	1,599	825	1,965	997
3.	Bihar			44	19
4.	Gujarat	98	43	718	319
5.	Madhya Pradesh	318	149	401	154

(Contd...)

6.	Maharashtra	380	173	373	171
7.	Nagaland				
8.	Orissa				
9.	Rajasthan			25	12
10.	West Bengal	110	45	140	59
11.	A. & N. Islands				
12.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli				
13.	Himachal Pradesh			16	6
14.	L.M & A.Islands			13	12
15.	Manipur				
16.	Tripura	1,761	815	3,252	4,460
17.	Others	20	4	170	71
	India	4,298	2,061	7,260	3,354

**Table 4**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Primary / Junior Basic Schools in 1960-61 & 1965-66**

Sl No.	State / Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1.	Andhra Pradesh	61,694	20,237	91,215	32,020
2.	Assam	2,51,392	97,050	329,367	1,35,802
3.	Bihar	9,35,584	51,771	311,845	75,545
4.	Gujarat	87,935	23,829	97,856	26,266
5.	Madhya Pradesh	2,07,129	31,191	397,432	81,347
6.	Maharashtra	1,17,524	30,988	129,309	40,656
7.	Nagaland	32,726	12,128	44,979	16,513
8.	Orissa	1,40,003	29,566	263,550	71,942
9.	Rajasthan	19,901	1,079	111,746	14,496
10.	West Bengal	92,657	22,053	119,638	28,851
11.	A. & N. Islands			881	267
12.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli			2,508	459
13.	Himachal Pradesh	3,440	480	3,299	819
14.	L.M & A.Islands	1,920	1,123	1,886	76
15.	Manipur	32,697	10,731	51,152	18,423
16.	Tripura	19,741	4,883	25,983	6,578
17.	Others	32,300	11,621	39,076	14,928
	India	13,36,703	3,48,730	20,21,722	565,679

**Table 5**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Middle / Senior Basic Schools in 1960-61 & 1965-66**

Sl No.	State / Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1	Andhra Pradesh	2,386	641	5,034	1,383
2	Assam	32,697	8,885	56,126	18,668
3	Bihar	63,113	12,223	99,660	21,667
4	Gujarat	114,523	35,713	133,757	44,555
5	Madhya Pradesh	31,627	2,430	51,751	6,972
6	Maharashtra	53,350	12,903	104,569	24,262
7	Nagaland	10,425	3,737	19,571	6,749
8	Orissa	11,632	1,446	17,438	3,056
9	Rajasthan	2,781	150	19,036	822
10	West Bengal	7,246	937	9,391	1,018
11	A. & N. Islands			50	12
12	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	N.A.	N.A.	1,452	171
13	Himachal Pradesh	589	105	443	170
14	L.M & A.Islands	1,313	147	2,081	307
15	Manipur	7,060	1,713	10,665	3,267
16	Tripura	1,212	187	1,870	411
17	Others	13,298	4,721	22,454	8,811
	India	350,252	85,938	555,348	143,111

**Table 6**  
**Enrolment of Scheduled tribes in Secondary Schools in 1960-61 & 1965-66**

Sl No.	State / Territory	1960-61		1965-66	
		Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1.	Andhra Pradesh	3,359	518	6,188	1,014
2.	Assam	21,120	4,458	43,996	13,284
3.	Bihar	19,573	3,592	24,105	4,531
4.	Gujarat	6,901	891	15,415	2,805

(Contd...)

5.	Madhya Pradesh	6,211	339	17,568	1,058
6.	Maharashtra	8,131	889	29,753	5,432
7.	Nagaland	4,136	1,208	8,356	2,352
8.	Orissa	3,595	240	9,944	863
9.	Rajasthan	1,189	17	9,617	291
10.	West Bengal	10,533	82	18,975	2,421
11.	A. & N. Islands			97	16
12.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli			55	4
13.	Himachal Pradesh	890	78	1,576	241
14.	L.M & A.Islands	486	29	762	43
15.	Manipur	4,004	619	7,756	2,094
16.	Tripura	94	132	1,908	416
17.	Others	4,258	1,045	9,327	2,990
	India	94,480	14,157	205,398	39,855

Table 7: Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in different types of Vocational / Technical Schools in 1965-66

S.No.	State/Union Territory	Teacher Training	Agriculture	Commerce	Nursery Midwifery and Compounding	Technical	Music and Fine Arts	Others	Total
1.	Andhra Pradesh	45				296	3		344
2.	Assam	500	6	345		296	28		1,175
3.	Bihar			15	88				103
4.	Gujarat	653	69	82	32	192	2	49	1,079
5.	Madhya Pradesh				13	295			308
6.	Maharashtra	673	234		25	46	18	117	1,113
7.	Nagaland	102				56			158
8.	Orissa	557	26		30	393	23	26	1,055
9.	Rajasthan	1							1
10.	West Bengal	11				131		2	144
11.	A. & N. Islands								
12.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli								
13.	Himachal Pradesh								
14.	L.M. & A. Islands								
15.	Manipur	114	15		39	196	36	1	401
16.	Tripura		1		3	19		3	26
17.	Others								
	Total	2,656	351	427	157	2137	110	198	6,036

Table 8  
Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in Colleges of Professional Education (1965-66)

S.No.	State/Union Territory	Agriculture	Commerce	Engineering & Technology	Teacher Training	Law	Medicine	Nursing & Midwifery	Others	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Andhra Pradesh	13		68	62	3	50	1		18	215
2.	Assam		30	107		287	171	3		15	613
3.	Bihar	19	5	353	1,286	172	17			5	1,857
4.	Gujarat	17	8	112	11	2	9	7		2	168
5.	Madhya Pradesh	34	53	177	284	16	33	7			604
6.	Maharashtra	73	127	436	48	11	33	12	63	23	826
7.	Nagaland										
8.	Orissa	11		68	50	5	14			4	154
9.	Rajasthan	16	8	57	246		10	13	23	5	378
10.	West Bengal	2	119	76	56		4	25	25		307

(Contd...)

S.No.	State/Union Territory	Agriculture	Commerce	Engineering & Technology		Teacher Training		Law	Medicine		Nursing & Midwifery		Others	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
10.	West Bengal	2	119	76	56	4	4	25	25					307
11.	A. & N. Islands													
12.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli													
13.	Himachal Pradesh	2		6	13									21
14.	L.M. & A. Islands													
15.	Manipur			74	18	26								118
16.	Tripura			10	15								1	26
17.	Others	3	1	100	155	5	70	25	11	2				372
	Total	190	351	1,644	2,244	527	411	68	122	100				5,659

## 4

## Equality, Quality and Quantity in Indian Education (1979)

### INTRODUCTION

The main object of this book is to examine the manner in which the concepts of equality, quality, and quantity have been interpreted and implemented in Indian education, the measure of success achieved in this enterprise so far, and the broad steps that will have to be taken in the years ahead if Indian education has to reflect these values effectively.

### THE EDUCATIONAL SCENE AT THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Indian society was highly stratified, hierarchical, and inegalitarian. There was a small group of well-to-do persons at the top consisting of the feudal overlords and their dependants and supporters, the higher castes, cultivators of large tracts of good land, traders, merchants, and moneylenders. The bulk of the people, however, were poor and underprivileged. In spite of the fact that a few women could rise to the highest positions in society, the status of the average woman was very unequal and low. The scheduled castes who were treated as untouchables and the scheduled tribes who were not integrated into the mainstream of the society formed the lowliest, the poorest, and the most exploited groups.

The educational picture broadly reflected this socio-economic background of inequality. There was no formal school system organised and supported by the state; and the total educational effort consisted of a small formal sector (which included

institutions voluntarily organised to meet the limited felt needs of a very small minority) and a large non-formal sector.<sup>1</sup>

The formal sector consisted of institutions of two broad categories. The first included institutions of higher learning (the *pathashalas* of the Hindus or the *madarsahs* of the Muslims) which were predominantly religious in character. They conferred high social status on their students but not much of a political or economic privilege so that they were mostly availed of by the higher castes or special groups which engaged themselves in advising on religious and social matters, in studying and interpreting the scriptures, and in interpreting the laws. Their total student enrolment was only a microscopic fraction of the total population. The second category included the institutions of elementary education which taught the three R's. These were far more numerous and were availed of by the middle classes who needed such education, mostly the priests, several categories of public servants, landlords, traders, moneylenders, and the like. But even these were mostly attended by boys and did not enrol more than one or two per cent of the total child population. The aristocracy generally made their own special arrangements for the education of their children and on the whole were not specially distinguished either by their own achievements in learning or by their desire to spread it among the people. It will, thus, be seen that the formal educational system of the period was traditional in character and covered only a very small proportion of the total population (mostly the sons of the upper and the middle classes).

The large masses of the people had no access to the formal schools and were educated only in the non-formal sector. They were socialised in the culture and value-system of the caste or the class to which they belonged by the family itself. They also acquired the vocational education they needed through a non-formal apprenticeship in the family or under a relation or a friend. The girls learnt homemaking and child-rearing as well as the vocational skills they needed by assisting their mothers or other elderly women of the family, both before and after marriage and by actual participation. The only liberal education the masses received was again of a non-formal character and consisted mostly of orientation to religion and culture through discourses built round temples, mosques, religious festivals, and ceremonies.

In this system, it was the social status (as determined by caste, political or economic power, sex, or profession) that determined an individual's access to education, as well as its type and extent, rather than *vice versa* and the objective of the system was not to promote vertical mobility, but to educate individuals to their predetermined status in society. The educational system also made a distinction between intellectuals who did not work with their hands but received formal education, and workers who produced wealth with the sweat of their brow but were not supposed to need any formal education. Consequently, only a small class which lived a parasitic life had leisure and access to formal education and to the great cultural traditions of the society. On the other hand, the bulk of the people who were the real workers had no leisure and no access either to formal education or to anything beyond the little or popular cultural traditions of the society.

It must be pointed out that there was very little social dissatisfaction with this system in spite of its restrictive and inequalitarian character. To begin with, the teachers in the system, who were few and respected for their learning, received such meagre remuneration and lived a life of such simplicity that they did not become objects of envy. Secondly, the privileges which formal education conferred on their students were also limited so that those who were educated therein did not also become objects of jealousy and those who were not admitted to its fold did not get any strong feelings of deprivation. Thirdly, the size of the formal school system was small and the public investment therein was marginal so that neither the teachers nor the students were numerous enough to become a powerful social group. Finally, a belief in a divinely ordained hierarchical society made every one, whether or not admitted to the formal system, accept his lot with quiet resignation.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE BASIC ISSUES

The modern educational system of India was meant to be an improvement over this traditional system of education from every point of view. It was, therefore, geared, right from the very beginning, to the pursuit of the three major goals of equality, quality, and quantity. The connotations of each of these goals as

well as the relative emphasis placed on them has varied from time to time. But they have always dominated the determination of educational policies and have been simultaneously pursued.

Two important groups of problems arise in this context. The first relates to the extent to which these goals have been realised in actual practice. It is obvious that the simultaneous pursuit of these goals has made the task extremely difficult and that the conflicts inherent in the situation have inevitably come to the surface. For instance, the pursuit of quality has often linked itself with privilege and become inimical to that of quantity; the pursuit of quantity, in its turn, has often led to a deterioration of standards; and the pursuit of equality has been often found to be inimical to that of quality and has been frequently hampered by the very inequalities in society which it was intended to remove. We have tried to reconcile the inevitable conflicts with little result; and we have not yet been able to provide adequately either for equality, or for quality, or for quantity. This raises two important questions: (1) Why has this pursuit of really laudable and desirable goals failed in our educational system? and (2) What measures should be adopted so that this pursuit would succeed in the years ahead? These are very important educational problems which need close examination for diagnostic and remedial purposes.

The second group of problems relates to the wider issue of social transformation through education. Has the pursuit of these goals of equality, quality, and quantity in education made any impact on the social structure and rendered it less stratified and hierarchical or more egalitarian? The answer probably is that the impact of education on the basic features of the social structure has been rather limited. This raises two very important questions: (1) why is it that all our achievements in the spread of education, its qualitative improvement, and the provision of equality of opportunity have produced so small an impact on the society and failed to change its basic character?; and (2) what changes of policy are needed, either in education or outside of it, to promote effectively the long-awaited social changes? Both these problems need close study with a view to evolving alternative strategies of development.

## METHODOLOGY

In the course of the next three chapters, I have tried to find tentative answers to these problems on the basis of development in Indian education over the past 160 years and in the light of the major trends in educational reconstruction that are now seen in almost all parts of the world. For convenience, the period under study has been divided into two phases. The first phase, designated as the British phase, cover 108 years from 1813 to 1921 when education was transferred to Indian control; and the second phase, designated as the Indian phase, cover 54 years from 1921 to 1975 and has been further divided into two sub-phases – pre-independence (1921-1947) and post-independence (1947-1975). An attempt has then been made to examine how these concepts of equality, quality, and quantity were gradually evolved over these different phases and how they were implemented. It is hoped that this analysis, seen against the background of international educational thought, will help indicate the ultimate direction in which educational reconstruction in India should begin to move and identify the priority programmes that should be developed in the immediate future.

## REFERENCES

1. I am using the expression 'non-formal sector' to include all education outside the formal sector. It, therefore, also includes what is called incidental or informal education.
2. For a detailed account of the indigenous system of education, see Nurullah and Naik, *A Students' History of Education in India (1800-1974)*, Macmillan & Co., New Delhi, 1974, Chapter I.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION

Bringing out this second edition of equality, Quality and Quantity in Indian Education gives us a sense of fulfilment. This book elaborates the substance of the Tagore Memorial lectures delivered by J. P. Naik in the University of Pune, in 1975. It is part and parcel of a project he had launched in the Indian Council of Social Science Research to explore new paths of policy-making and designing programmes of India's development in three crucial sectors : health, education and agriculture. All these sectors called for transformation in an integrated manner. In this



publication he argues "Education and development are not two different things but the two sides of the same coin : education as well as provide the tool for it." (p. 50)

As a perceptive planner he says, "Quality should be defined not in narrow middle class terms, but in the interest of the people as a whole. It is recognition of a large variety of competences and the grant of equal status to them that will make 'quality' compatible with both 'equality' and 'quantity' (p.50). Finally, he has quoted his most favourite recommendation from the report of the Indian Education Commission (1964-66), popularly known as the Kothari Commission after its illustrious chairman Dr. D. S. Kothari:

Education thus needs and demands, more than anything else, hard work and dedicated service. In particular, it presents a supreme challenge to the student, teachers and educational administrators who are now called upon to create a system of education related to the life, needs and aspirations of the people and to maintain it at the highest level of efficiency. It is upon their response to this challenge that the future of the country depends. (p. 127)

These thoughts are as fresh and as inspiring today as they were when penned by Naik almost 36 years ago. But beneficial thoughts are wasted when they remain simply as the policy level and are not translated into action by the parties for whom they are meant. This has been the tragedy of Indian education.

(Chitra Naik)

### EQUALITY

Of the three major concerns of Indian Education which are discussed in this book, the most significant is the attempt to provide equality of educational opportunity. The Indian society, especially the Hindu society, has been extremely inequalitarian, and this is the one value on the basis of which this society can be humanised and strengthened. In fact, the issue is so crucial that the Indian society cannot even hope to survive except on the basis of an egalitarian reorganisation.

### Equality in Education: British Phase (1813-1921)

Between 1813 and 1921, the British administrators laid the foundations of the modern educational system, mainly for their own colonial and imperialistic purposes, and tried to create a system of education for the upper classes. At the same time, they eliminated some grossly inequalitarian aspects of the traditional educational system. Their contribution to equality in education, therefore, was both positive and negative – more of the latter than of the former.

The principal positive contribution of the British administrators to equality was to give to all citizens open access to educational institutions maintained from or supported by public funds. Three important developments in this regard may be mentioned.

- a) *Sanskrit Colleges*: The East India Company established some Sanskrit colleges in an attempt to continue the popular traditions of the feudal chiefs whose kingdoms it had annexed. In these institutions, the teachers were all Brahmans and so were the students; and the Brahman teachers refused to admit and teach students from those castes which, according to the Hindu tradition, were denied the right to study the *Vedas*. The British administrators could not accept this position and insisted that all those who sought admission to the Sanskrit colleges should be admitted, irrespective of caste and religion, and that the Brahman teachers must either teach all such students or quit the colleges. They were supported in this endeavour by those Brahmin teachers who saw the injustice of the traditional taboos. The right of all persons, even the non-Brahmins and the non-Hindus, to study Sanskrit and the sacred texts, thus, came to be recognised.<sup>1</sup>
- b) *Education of Girls*: Next came the question of girls. The schools established by the East India Company were professedly meant for both boys and girls. But in practice, their enrolment consisted of only boys because the tradition to send girls to school did not exist and, afraid of the adverse reactions it might create among the people,

the government made no efforts either to enrol girls in the general schools or to establish separate schools for them. The first efforts in this field were, therefore, made by the missionaries and enlightened Indians. Very soon, however, the government abandoned its cautious restraint and, in 1850, Dalhousie directed that the government should establish girls' schools and strive to spread education among girls in all possible ways.<sup>2</sup> This policy was followed by the successive administrators and was supported by the enlightened leaders of Indian public opinion. The Indian Education Commission (1882) made several important recommendations for the spread of education among girls, and this policy was reiterated in the Government Resolutions on Educational Policy issued in 1904 and 1913.

- c) *Education of the Scheduled Castes:* Perhaps the worst difficulties were encountered when the problem of educating the 'untouchable' castes came up. The first test case arose in 1856 when a boy from an untouchable caste applied for admission to the government school at Dharwar. He was refused admission on the ground that it would result in the withdrawal of all the caste Hindu children from the school and thus in the closure of the school itself. But the decision was sharply criticised by the Governor-General of India as well as by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and a clear policy was laid down that no untouchable child should be refused admission to a government school, even if it meant the closure of the school.<sup>3</sup> In the years that followed, children from the untouchable castes began to get admission to the government schools in slowly increasing numbers, and their right to admission was recognised. But as the British administrators did not make any attempts to abolish untouchability even when the untouchable children were admitted to schools they had to sit away from the other children (they were not even admitted into the school building if it happened to be a temple) and were not touched either by the teachers or by the other students. In spite of these limitations, the ice had been broken and the

untouchable castes had been given access to the school system. This was no mean achievement.

The British administrators thus established, firmly and unequivocally, the right of every child, irrespective of caste, sex, or traditional taboos, to seek admission to all schools supported or aided by public funds.

Another contribution of the British administrators to promote equality was the opportunity they provided to the lower strata of the society to move up the social ladder through education. They started, as early as in 1844, to appoint persons educated in the new system to posts under the government. This was done, of course, not so much in the interests of equality as to make the new system popular with the people. But, as it happened, it did provide an important channel of vertical mobility and a large number of educated persons from the lower social classes were able to secure government service and, through it, social status, economic betterment, and political influence. This was indeed a tremendous advance over the traditional system in which every person was tied to an education and a status determined by his religion, caste, or sex.

Yet another contribution of the British to equality was the special efforts they made to promote education among the backward sections of the community. These efforts were, of course, politically motivated. When they found that the 'advanced' communities were launching agitation against the British rule, they divided the society into 'advanced', 'intermediate' (which included Muslims), and 'backward' groups and began to pay special attention to the promotion of education among the intermediate and the backward communities on the well-known principle of divide-and-rule. None the less, the fact that these efforts did promote a measure of equality should be accepted and appreciated.

These positive contributions of the British administrators were more than counter-balanced by their emphasis on the education of the upper classes or on the downward filtration theory, by their neglect of the education of the poor people who formed the large majority, by their policy of neutrality in social reform, by the establishment of private independent schools for

the well-to-do, and, above all, by the basically inegalitarian structure of the formal educational system they created. It is necessary to discuss these in some detail.

- a) *The Downward Filtration Theory*: The British administrators desired to create a class or classes of people who would be loyal and grateful to them and would act as interpreters between them and the administered. They, therefore, put forward the *Downward filtration theory* or the idea that culture would filter down from the upper to the lower classes. This enabled them to argue that, even if their efforts were limited only to the education of a class or classes at the top, education would, over time, spread automatically to the lower classes as well. They also argued that the educated upper classes would or should, in their turn, educate the lower classes at a later stage. This theory was obviously good for the imperialistic designs of the British, but it was hardly egalitarian in character.<sup>4</sup>
- b) *Neglect of the Education of the Poor People*: The neglect of the poor lower classes, who formed the vast majority of the people, followed as a corollary from the downward filtration theory. The British administrators, therefore, never developed programmes of adult education or of liquidation of mass illiteracy or of universal elementary education. All that the government tried to do was to spread elementary education among the people as widely as possible on a voluntary basis. But the extent of the total effort made, even in 1921, was too small to have any effective impact on the problem.
- c) *Non-interference in Social and Religious Matters*: The British government also professed a policy of neutrality in social and religious matters. But as no education can be value-neutral, this policy implied an unequivocal support to the *status quo* in the inegalitarian, hierarchical, and highly stratified Indian society. Fortunately, the negative effects of this policy were neutralised to some extent by the social reform movements led by enlightened Indians who had assimilated the 'liberal' spirit of the new education.

- d) *Independent Schools*: The British administrators also organised (and encouraged the organisation of) private fee-charging schools which maintained high standards and had a direct link with privilege because they enabled their students who came from the rich families to occupy high posts under the government. This was their attempt to create a counterpart of the public schools of England in India. This inegalitarian measure has since taken root and grown to a considerable size so that it defeats all efforts at radical reform.
- e) *The Structure of the Formal Educational System*: But the worst disservice which the British administration did to the cause of equality was to create a structure for the formal educational system which, on the one hand, gave enormous advantages to the well-to-do upper and middle classes to perpetuate and consolidate their privileges and, on the other, placed the poor classes at equally tremendous disadvantages while availing themselves of the facilities which the system offered. This system, for instance, was based on a *single-point entry* in Class I at about the age of six years, sequential annual promotions from class to class, and *full-time instruction* by *full-time professional teachers*. The well-to-do and the educated castes could appreciate the value of education, and the single-point entry created no problem for them. They could feed, clothe, equip, and send their children to schools on a whole-time basis so that the concept of full-time instruction also did not create any problem. But the poor illiterate people were at a serious disadvantage in the system. They did not adequately appreciate the value of education (and many of them could not even tell correctly the ages of their children), and the chances of a child from the poor families missing the narrow single-point entry to the system at about the age of six were indeed very high; and whenever a child did miss this chance, he was condemned to live and die an illiterate adult.

Secondly, in almost all the poor families, the children were required to work as soon as they were old enough to do

something useful. Consequently, even when they were sent to schools at the age of six, they had to be withdrawn as soon as they began to work because the schools provided only full-time instruction. These withdrawals began at about the age of nine and by the age of fourteen, hardly any poor children were left in schools.

This model of the formal educational system was also highly competitive because the children of the rich and the well-to-do could survive it and climb to some form or other of privilege while those of the poor people who either did not 'drop into' the system at all or 'dropped out' of it, sooner rather than later, generally suffered the most. In fact, the system merely added an insult to the injury because it converted 'dropping out', which was essentially an economic handicap of the children from poor families, into a measure of their intellectual incompetence, and declared them as inferior to the survivors of the system who did not necessarily have any inherent academic or intellectual superiority.

In the absence of political awareness, the masses ignored this insult, internalised their failure, and thought that their exclusion from privilege was due to their own weaknesses and incompetence. The system was also legitimised by the co-option, every now and then, of a few persons from the underprivileged groups who managed to survive within the system and get into the more important positions which were usually monopolised by the children from the well-to-do classes.

While evaluating the contribution of the British administrators to the creation of equality in Indian education or society, therefore, one must not ignore three hard basic facts :

- the formal educational system created by the British was an instrument of *not* educating, rather than *of* educating the children from the poor families;
- it was not an instrument of creating an egalitarian society, but an attempt to create new classes, favourable to the new economic and political order, in lieu of the old feudal classes; and

- it was also an attempt to replace the traditional system which taught Oriental learning through the medium of Sanskrit or Arabic/Persian by a modern education system which taught European knowledge through the medium of English.

Through this system, the British did succeed in achieving their two major objectives, viz., to create a new class or classes and to transform the traditional educational system into the modern. Their expectations, however, went wrong in two respects. These new classes which they created at such great pains did not remain loyal and grateful to them as anticipated. But, inspired by a new surge of nationalism, they organised a political struggle which eventually resulted in the end of the British rule in India. Secondly, the educated classes had not shown, as was, hoped, any great desire or anxiety to spread education to the poorer classes but had been more concerned with strengthening and perpetuating their own privileged position. This attitude has, unfortunately, become more pronounced after independence.

#### **Equality in Education: Indian Phase (1921-1975)**

The Indian leadership which assumed control of education since 1921 made a bolder and a more committed approach to the problem of equality in education and society. By this time, the idea that the educational system should provide equality of educational opportunity and should be used as an instrument of social change had become an integral part of the nationalist thought in India; and the leaders of Indian public opinion were not committed to non-interference in social matters as the British were. The Indian administrators of education, therefore, were not prepared to restrict the connotation of 'equality', as the British administrators had done, merely to a recognition of every citizen's right of access, irrespective of his caste, religion, or sex, to all educational institutions maintained and supported by public funds. They put a much wider connotation on this term and their policies differed from those of the British administrators in several important respects. To begin with, they attached great significance to financial support to students (including the provision of free education or charging of low and subsidised fees) to neutralise

the effect of poverty. They also desired to provide universal elementary education to all children, first in the age group 6-10 and then in the age group 6-14. For the same purpose, they also adopted a policy of expanding secondary and higher education on the basis of open-door admissions. They launched vigorous measures to spread education among women and the weaker sections of the community such as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Above all, they tried to make direct changes in the society which would help promote equality in education as well. It is necessary to discuss these policies in detail to show how equality of educational opportunity was promoted under Indian control.

### Free Education and Student Support

The British administrators insisted on the levy of fees at all stages of education, partly on the ground that fees would form an important source of revenue for financing education and partly on the ground that the people would not appreciate anything for which they were not required to make a payment. The Indian opinion, on the other hand, was strongly in favour of making education free, especially because of the ancient Indian tradition that one should not 'sell' knowledge. What is even more important, Indians wanted to make a more liberal provision for other forms of positive student support such as free supplies of educational equipment or clothing, provision of free school meals and other health services, hostels, and scholarships, which were not emphasized by the British administrators.

In so far as *free education* is concerned, progress was not easy under the British rule. But since 1947, considerable progress has been made in this regard. For instance, the British view of regarding fees as an important source for financing education is now abandoned. Fees can become the most regressive form of taxation whose incidence falls more heavily on the poor who generally have larger families. The Education Commission, therefore, was right in recommending that the levy of fees should not be looked upon as a source of revenue. This is now the accepted policy.

As fees tend to be an impediment to the spread of education, especially in an overwhelmingly poor country like India, the

Commission also recommended that education to the end of Class X should be made free. The attempt of the State governments to adopt the new pattern of 10+2+3 and to make education free for the ten-year school is, therefore, welcome. As of now, elementary education is free in all parts of the country. Secondary education is free in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Gujarat. Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan provide free secondary education for girls. Some States such as Maharashtra provide free secondary education for children of persons whose annual income is below a prescribed level. A similar trend is seen in higher education also. In two States – Nagaland and Jammu and Kashmir – even higher education is free. Rajasthan provides higher education also free to all girls, and Tamil Nadu does not charge fees at the pre-university stage. It must also be pointed out that, even where fees are levied, there is considerable provision in all parts of the country for free studentships in deserving cases. What is even more important, the general trend in the country is for reduction or abolition of fees, at all stages of education; and any attempt to raise fees is met with strong opposition from the public and agitation by the students.

All these developments are welcome and egalitarian, except perhaps the provision of free education or levy of low fees in higher education. The main reason given for keeping fees low at this stage is to help the poor families and to promote equality. But this does not happen, and as the seats available in colleges and universities are largely monopolised by the well-to-do classes, the levy of low fees only implies a large hidden subsidy to them. This is not egalitarian. There is, therefore, every reason to increase the fees in higher education and to provide liberal free studentships to students coming from poor families.

The problem of reduction in or abolition of tuition fees is only a negative and a very minor aspect of the total student support needed to ensure that poverty does not become a bar to the education of children from poor families and that all talented children coming from poor families have full access to the education they deserve. It is, therefore, right that Indian administrators have been placing much greater emphasis, especially since 1947, on the *provision of other and positive forms of*

*financial support* to students coming from poor families. Among these, the following may be mentioned.

- a) *Elementary Education:* There is now provision in all the States for the supply of free textbooks to the needy students. A provision is also made, though on a limited scale, for the supply of free clothing and free school meals. The provision of school health services is still in its infancy, and beyond a few metropolitan cities, they are almost non-existent.
- b) *Secondary Education:* The secondary stage is probably the weakest from the point of view of other forms of student support. The State governments provide only a limited scholarship support and the only Central schemes at this stage are scholarships for talented students in approved residential schools (these number only a few hundreds) and scholarships for talented children in rural areas (at the rate of two scholarships per community development block).
- c) *Higher Education:* In higher education, however, a good deal of provision is now made for hostels and scholarships. It has been estimated that one student in about every ten can now stay in a hostel. The Government of India also provides, in addition to the scholarships provided by the state governments, charitable agencies, and universities, a large number of national scholarships on the basis of merit and loan scholarships. There is also a scheme of scholarships for talented children of primary and secondary school teachers; and students are sent abroad under a scheme introduced by the Government of India as well as under collaborative schemes initiated with the cooperation of friendly countries. It has been estimated that one out of every six or seven students in higher education does get some form of scholarship support at present, although the amount of scholarship is often inadequate.
- d) *Scheduled Castes and Tribes:* There is one important area in which substantial progress has been made in providing student support especially in the post-independence period, namely, the education of scheduled castes and

Tribes. Facilities of free education have been provided for them in all parts of the country. At the secondary stage, there is considerable provision for hostels and scholarships. At the post-matriculation stage, every student from the scheduled castes (subject to a means test) and every student from the scheduled tribes are also given a scholarship. The number of these scholarships has increased from 655 in 1947-48 to 3,25,000 in 1973-74. These measures have been of great help in spreading education among the weaker sections of the society. It is true that they have still a long way to go to be on par with the other communities. But substantial progress has already been made, both in extending educational facilities among these social groups and in providing them with employment under the government.

While one welcomes all that has been done in this sector, it must be pointed out that we still have a long, long way to go if real equality of educational opportunity is to be introduced and poverty is not to be a bar to the education of a child from a poor family. At the elementary stage, we must move in the direction of providing textbooks, uniforms, school meals, and at least a minimum of health services, free of charge, for all children. At the secondary stage, we need a much better provision of hostels, scholarships, and assistance to individual students for transport (i.e., for purchase of bicycles) if the access of poor students (who do not have secondary schools at their places of residence) to secondary education is to be increased. At the university stage, we need a far larger provision of scholarships and hostels than we have at present. At all stages of education, the facilities given to the scheduled castes and tribes have to be extended to all talented but economically handicapped children, irrespective of caste or religion; and what is even more important, it is necessary to provide the intellectual, academic, and emotional support for which students from deprived backgrounds are starved and which they badly need for their personal development. Above all, it is the responsibility of the state to continually scout for talent and to provide all opportunities for the full development of every talented child. This programme still continues to be largely neglected.

Two important points raised by the Education Commission with regard to the administration of the scholarships programme also deserve emphasis and attention.

- i) The selection for scholarships on the basis of 'merit' alone tends to favour the well-to-do classes whose children do better on conventional tests. The Commission, therefore, recommended that improved tests of 'merit', which would be more objective and culture-free, should be designed and that the selection of students for scholarships should be done on the basis of 'merit' and 'social justice' instead of on merit alone. For instance, it suggested that there should be 'clusters' of schools on the basis of a common socioeconomic background of students and that selection for scholarships should be separate for each cluster. Unfortunately, this problem has received very little attention.
- ii) The Education Commission recommended that the scholarship programme should also be combined with a placement programme and that all scholarship-holders should be placed in selected good schools. This was a basically good suggestion which ought to have been adopted, with modifications if necessary. But unfortunately, it has also been largely ignored so far.

### Universal Elementary Education

The British administrators refused to accept the principle of compulsory elementary education. The Indian nationalist thought, however, was firmly of the view that the provision of equality of educational opportunity must include a certain minimum general education to be provided to all children on a free and compulsory basis.

A demand that four years of compulsory education (which would ensure effective literacy) should be provided to all children was put forward, for the first time, before the Indian Education Commission by the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, in 1881. The proposal was again taken up by Gopal Krishna Gokhale who moved a resolution on the subject in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1910 and a bill in 1912, neither of which

achieved their objective. The public demand for compulsory primary education continued, however, to grow, and between 1918 and 1931 compulsory education laws were passed for most parts of the country by the newly elected state legislatures in which Indians were in a majority.

In 1937, Mahatma Gandhi put forward his scheme of Basic Education under which education of seven or eight years' duration was to be provided for all children and its content was to be revolutionised by building it round a socially useful productive craft. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi actually defined the content of Basic Education as equivalent to matriculation *minus* English *plus* craft. As a result of all these efforts, the idea that it was the duty of the state to provide free and compulsory education to all children till they reached the age of 14 years was nationally accepted as an important aspect of the overall effort to provide equality of educational opportunity.

Under the wise leadership of Sir John Sargent, the then Educational Adviser to the Government of India, these ideas were accepted by the British administrators and the *Post-War plan of Educational Development in India* (1944), known popularly as the Sargent Plan, put forward proposals to provide free and compulsory basic education to all children in the age group 6-14 over a period of 40 years (1944-1984). The nationalist opinion did not accept this long period, and a committee under the chairmanship of B.G. Kher proposed that this goal could and should be achieved in a period of 16 years (1944-1960). It was this recommendation that was eventually incorporated in the Constitution as a Directive Principle of State Policy (Art. 45). Unfortunately, this is the one major educational reform which remains unimplemented even to this day. The complete story of this failure, along with a discussion of its causes and the remedial action involved, has been narrated in an earlier publication *Elementary Education in India: A Promise to Keep*. It is, therefore, not necessary to repeat that narrative in this book. Our purpose would be served if the main conclusions which arise from this study are briefly reproduced here for the convenience of reference.

There is no doubt that considerable progress has been made in the expansion of facilities at the elementary stage of education

between 1950 and 1975.<sup>5</sup> But, from the point of view of the goal of universal education, there are several major weaknesses in the present situation which need attention. About one child out of three is still out of school. The wastage rates are high and of every 100 children that enter Grade I, only about 25 reach Grade VIII. There are large variations in enrolments from region to region: the States of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are far ahead of the states of Bihar and Rajasthan. Even within the same State, there are large variations from district to district; and quite often, even within the same district, different areas show equally large variations. The enrolments in urban areas are generally much better than those in rural areas; the enrolments of boys are much better than those of girls; and the enrolments of the children of the well-to-do and the educated classes are far better than those of the poor and the uneducated social groups. The quality of elementary education also continues to be very poor; and, in particular, the attempts to introduce work-experience and social service have not succeeded. It is, thus, evident that in spite of considerable progress achieved in the past 28 years, the tasks to be done are formidable.

The existing model of the formal system of education, on which we place exclusive dependence, is a major hurdle that prevents the spread of education to the poor people. A reform of the highest priority, therefore, is to transform this system radically on the following lines:

- a) The single-point entry system should be replaced by a multiple-point entry under which it will be open for older children of 9, 11, or 14 to join schools in separate classes specially organised for them.
- b) The sequential character of the system must go; and it should be possible for older children to join the prescribed courses at any time and also to complete them in shorter or longer periods.
- c) The exclusive emphasis that is laid in the present system on full-time institutional instruction should be replaced by a large programme of part-time education, arranged to suit the convenience of children who are required to work.
- d) The exclusive emphasis on the utilisation of full-time professional teachers should go. An attempt should be

made to utilise all the teaching resources available in the local community; and the services of part-time local teachers and even of senior students should be fully utilised for promoting instruction in the elementary schools.

- e) There should be no rigid demarcation between primary schools and pre-schools. Girls who are required to look after young children should be encouraged to bring them to the school. They should be taken care of in pre-primary school, or creches attached to the primary schools which are managed by the girls themselves, by turns, under the guidance of the teachers. This will provide a valuable service at a minimal additional cost and assist materially in the spread of education among girls from the poorer families.<sup>6</sup>

The other major hurdles for the development of the programme are the heavy cost involved and the lack of parental cooperation. With regard to the first, it may be pointed out that the total cost of a programme of universal elementary education based on an almost exclusive dependence on the formal system of education, as it now exists, will be very high and beyond the resources likely to be available in the immediate future. It would, therefore, be necessary to reduce the costs of the programme to the extent possible through the introduction of a large non-formal element as indicated above and also by increasing the pupil-teacher ratio through the adoption of devices such as the double-shift system. With regard to the second, it will be necessary to develop a programme of adult education side by side with that of providing universal elementary education because the latter cannot succeed without the former, and because the best and the quickest results can be obtained only if both these programmes are developed simultaneously and in a complementary fashion.

Two important issues need attention with regard to the strategy of implementation. The first is that it would be desirable to enforce attendance in the age group 11-14 in the first instance and then to enforce it in age group 6-11 rather than *vice versa*. From this point of view, the children who have completed Classes I-V should be encouraged to study further in Classes VI-VIII, either



on a whole-time basis or on a part-time basis, as may be necessary and convenient. Special classes should be organised for children in the age group 11-14 who either did not go to school at all or dropped out of it at some early stage, and they should be enabled to become functionally literate at least before they reach the age of 14 years. The second issue relates to the timespan of implementation. There is no doubt that the problem has become more complicated by being extended over a long period. It is, therefore, necessary to make a firm decision to implement this programme during the period of the next ten years. This will necessarily imply that the programme will be implemented on the basis of a mass movement.

A major difficulty in the successful implementation of this programme seems to be the fact that the well-to-do classes in power are not interested in bringing about the radical changes necessary in the formal system of school education if elementary education is to be provided to the millions of poor people who live below the poverty line.

### Expansion of Secondary and Higher Education

The British administrators took the view, on academic as well as on political considerations, that the expansion of secondary and higher education should be rigorously controlled and that admissions to both secondary and higher education should be selective. Even a document such as the Sargent Plan, which accepted the concept of universal elementary education, suggested that secondary education should be made available to only one child out of five and that higher education should be made available to only one young person out of 15 who completed the secondary school. The Indian nationalist opinion challenged the political motivations underlying these official proposals; and even on academic and social grounds, it argued that India needed more secondary and higher education rather than less and that a policy of overall restriction of enrolments and selective admissions would adversely affect the interests of the deprived social groups who found vertical mobility through education. On grounds of equality, therefore, it advocated free expansion of secondary and higher education and was not prepared to accept

even the principle of selective admissions. The main point to determine is whether this system, as it now functions, does promote equality; and, if it does not, to suggest alternative egalitarian policies.

It is well known that the expansion achieved in secondary and higher education since 1961, and especially since 1947, is almost phenomenal.<sup>7</sup> But it will be wrong to assume that this expansion has been solely due to our desire to provide equality of educational opportunity. Several other forces are also at work. For instance, this expansion is also due to a system of inbreeding which compels educated persons to start more schools or colleges for sheer employment so that jobless 'scholar ghosts' go on creating still more 'scholar ghosts'. Secondary schools and colleges are also often started to meet the ambitious of local communities or to serve as the power-base for politicians. The university degree has now become a status symbol and is eagerly sought after by all, especially by those who have not had the benefit of higher education for centuries. Very often, young persons linger on in secondary and then in higher education for the simple reason that they have nothing better to do. There can be only a limited educational significance for such dubious growth.

But, perhaps, the most important factor which has led to this expansion of higher and secondary education is the close link that has come to be established, over the years, between education (especially higher education) and a good job in the organised sector. When the British administrators created the new formal system of education and initiated the practice of appointing persons educated therein to posts under the government with the basic objective of popularising the new education system, *they little realised that they were creating a formal education structure whose most important role was to enable ambition to climb to privilege*. But this is precisely what has happened.

In the past 50 years, the exclusive emphasis which the British administrators placed on the formal system of education has increased rather than decreased; and it has now become virtually impossible to create and sustain any parallel system outside it. For instance, even the experimental institutions of national education

that were initially set up outside the formal system of education and as rivals with it were ultimately co-opted and absorbed within the system.

What is even more important, the rewards and privileges available to the survivors of the system have increased immensely in the past 56 years and the gap between the affluence of the survivors and the poverty of the non-survivors has become very significant. This effect is further strengthened by our artificial and irrational wage-structure which rewards white-collar jobs (for which the system mostly prepares its students) infinitely better than blue-collar ones. Consequently, the competition to get into the system has increased by leaps and bounds.

Every person among the well-to-do classes who desires to retain or improve his privileged position is compelled to enter the formal system of education and to strive to survive within it long enough and well enough to realise his objective. Similarly, every ambitious person from the poorer social groups also tries to enter the system to escape his dreadful lot and to become one of the privileged.<sup>8</sup>

The number of ambitious persons who desire to enter the system thus increases at a terrific rate from year to year. As unemployment among the educated increases, this struggle to climb to privilege becomes more and more like a lottery. But in spite of this handicap, the demand for admission into the system, as in all lotteries, continues to increase because the rewards available to the lucky survivors are dazzlingly high. Strong and persistent demands are, therefore, put forward for more and more colleges and universities. These are very difficult to resist, especially in democratic and 'soft' state like ours with all its populist slogans.

A decision to restrict enrolments or to introduce selective admissions (which would also be justified on the basis of financial difficulties or improvement of standards), thus, becomes impossible to make; and as adequate resources are not available, what the state generally does is to dilute standards deliberately and to permit a haphazard and unplanned growth of secondary and higher education to meet the popular demand. But this does not solve the problem. In fact, it is this dilution of standards that

leads to an intensification of the popular demand for further expansion which, in turn, leads to still further dilution of standards. This vicious circle has already been established in India for some years past.

With such a combination of forces at work, there is no doubt that the expansion of secondary and higher education has had both positive and negative results. On the positive side, it may be pointed out, this expansion, which has now spread to the rural areas and among the weaker sections of the community, has created a good deal of vertical mobility; and even today, secondary and higher education happens to be the most important channel of vertical mobility for the underprivileged groups.

What is equally important, this spread of secondary and higher education among the poorer sections has created a new leadership and generated new social and economic forces which tend to shift the balance of power to some extent from the urban to the rural areas and from the top to the intermediate classes. Since secondary and higher education does lead to modernisation, this expansion has also helped to counter traditionalism to a considerable extent. On the negative side, the policy has led to a lowering of standards in a large majority of institutions, especially as adequate resources in men and materials are not available to match the expansion. The very rapid rate of expansion, which far outstrips the rate at which new employment is being generated, is also creating a serious problem of educated unemployment which is becoming worse every year and which is creating severe strains and stresses, not only in the school system, but also in the society itself. Campus disturbances have, therefore, become extremely frequent and unscrupulous politicians are busy using the restless students or the dissatisfied survivors of the system for spreading dissatisfaction against the government or for the narrow purposes of their own parties. The overall results of the system are, therefore, more negative than positive, and an urgent remedial action is called for.

This reform has become all the more urgent because, in spite of the open-door policy and subsidised low fees, the benefits of this expansion of secondary and higher education, quantitative as well as qualitative, mostly go to the well-to-do classes who use

it to strengthen and perpetuate their privileged position. From the quantitative point of view, we find that only about 25 children out of every 100 that enter Grade I complete elementary education. Most of the children from poor families are thus eliminated at the elementary stage itself. By the time one reaches the end of the secondary stage, this proportion of children who manage to survive is reduced still further to about ten, out of whom about eight come from the top thirty per cent of the society and only about two from the rest. Hence, even if a policy of open-door admissions is adopted at the entrance to the university, the dice is already heavily loaded in favour of the haves.

Qualitatively, the position is even worse. Because of the limitations on resources, and the compulsive need to secure expansion, we have developed a dual system in secondary and higher education in the sense that there is a small core of institutions which maintain good standards and these are surrounded by a large periphery of substandard institutions. What happens in practice is that the children from the well-to-do classes generally get admission to this small core of quality institutions while the children from the poor families are ordinarily admitted only to the large periphery of substandard institutions. The concentration of the well-to-do classes in the quality institutions at the secondary and higher stages is, therefore, even greater. Both in quantity and in quality, therefore, it is the upper and middle classes who are the main beneficiaries of secondary and higher education; and the policy leads not to equality, but to continuation and strengthening of privilege.

There is only one exception to the general conclusion that the poor people get only marginal and fringe benefits from the system, viz., the deliberate efforts made to spread higher education among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Because of the liberal provision of hostels and scholarships at the secondary stage and the scheme of post-matriculation scholarships, the young men and women from these social groups are availing themselves of the system of secondary and higher education to a much greater extent than would otherwise have been possible. If the support now given to the programme at the secondary stage is increased, and if adequate provision is made to provide individual guidance to students and to place them in

good institutions, the benefits accruing from the scheme would increase significantly still further. The experience of this programme shows that unless there is a large-scale and positive intervention on their behalf through comprehensive student support programmes, the young men and women from poor families would not be able to get full benefit from the present system of secondary and higher education. In other words, what is now being done for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes would have to be improved and expanded; and the same facilities would have to be made available for all talented young men and women from poor families, irrespective of their caste or religion.

How can we make this inegalitarian system of secondary and higher education (which also bristles with problems of poor standards and increasing unemployment among the educated) more egalitarian and effective? Several major programmes will have to be developed for this purpose and these will fall into two broad categories: (a) To make the existing system of institutionalised secondary and higher education more effective by improving standards and to ration access to it on the basis of merit and social justice; and (b) to help the young persons from the poorer social groups to have greater access to secondary and higher education.

The following suggestions will fall in the first category:

- i) Institutionalised secondary and higher education should be planned carefully and standards should not be diluted under any circumstances. This will necessarily imply a restriction on their expansion because the resources available are limited. The present policy of uncontrolled or free expansion of secondary and higher education must, therefore, be abandoned. This decision, however difficult and unpleasant it may be, will have to be made. To avoid this responsibility and to provide secondary and higher education at low rates of fees and on the so-called open-door basis by deliberate dilution of standards is a fraud on the community and cannot be justified under any circumstances.
- ii) Since the actual places available in institutionalised secondary and higher education will always fall short of

the demand or even of the total pool of ability available, it will be necessary to ration them, on the basis of merit and social justice, between all deserving students. Steps will have to be taken to devise suitable tests of merit which will do justice to all categories of competence and not place exclusive emphasis on middle-class values or white-collar capacities. Care should also be taken to see that an adequate number of seats are reserved for students coming from the poorer sections of the society, for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, for girls, and for the first-generation learners. In the absence of such controlled system of admissions the underprivileged will never get equality of educational opportunity and the haves will continue to dominate the scene.

- iii) In the present system, students who continue their studies unbroken to the end of the university stage generally get an edge over others who have to break their studies to participate in the world of work and come back again to the school. This is not fair to the poorer sections of the community nor is it educationally sound. There should, therefore, be every encouragement given to students who step off the educational system at the end of the secondary stage and come back later into the stream to pursue their studies further. In fact, such students are better suited and more mature and should be given every preference; and to encourage this healthy trend still further, service conditions should be so revised that persons who join lower down the line but improve their qualifications later on, should be given every encouragement and assistance. It may even be desirable to make a rule that no one shall be permitted to continue his studies uninterrupted to the end of the university stage. For instance, it may be a rule that one must work for at least a year at the end of the elementary stage before joining the secondary school and that one must work at least for a year or two at the end of the secondary stage before entering the university. Programmes of this type will integrate work and education much better than the present system which tends to isolate them to the detriment of both.

The following additional suggestions are put forward to increase the access of the poorer social groups or workers to secondary and higher education:

- i) Since most children from poor families do not complete elementary education itself, it may sound paradoxical, but it is still true that if equality of educational opportunity is to be promoted in secondary and higher education, steps will have to be taken at the earliest to ensure that universal elementary education is provided for children in the age group 6-14. It is only on this sound basis of equality at the elementary stage that the superstructure of equality in secondary and higher education can be built.
- ii) There is need for massive programme of financial support to the talented children from the poorer sections of the society. Steps will have to be taken to identify talented students at the end of the elementary stage and to help them, in every possible way, to complete their secondary and higher education. For this purpose, it will be necessary to evolve a large programme of hostels and scholarships, combined with placement in good selected institutions. In other words, the state must assume full responsibility for the secondary and higher education of all talented children from the poorer sections of the society.
- iii) For those who desire to receive secondary and higher education and qualify for it, but who cannot be accommodated in full-time institutions or cannot undertake full-time study for economic reasons, the widest possible opportunities for self-study and part-time education should be provided. All board and university examinations should be thrown open to private candidates; and education by correspondence courses or on a part-time basis should be available liberally, at both the secondary and the university stages, to all persons in every part of the country.
- iv) It is essential to delink, in general, the formal attainments in the educational system from employment in the organised sector, and, in particular, to abolish the monopoly that has been vested in the present educational

system to certify the attainments of a person to determine his eligibility for various categories of jobs. For this purpose, there should be as many different certifying agencies as possible to testify the attainments of individuals. For instance, not only the boards and the universities, but every college and school should have statutory authority to certify the attainments of their students, leaving it to the society at large or to the employing authorities to decide the merit of such certificates. Similarly, all agencies involved in programmes of non-formal education and all institutions functioning outside the formal system should also have similar rights of certification. In the same way, the Union and the State Public Service Commissions should have the authority to hold their own examinations and issue their own certificates which could be valid for certain purposes.

All employing agencies should hold their own examinations for recruitment, with strict reference to the requirements of the jobs. The universities would, of course, continue to hold examinations for admissions and to confer degrees. But these would be valid only for purposes of employment in the education system, and would not be prescribed as a qualification for any job outside it. For all other sectors of employment, examinations should be held by the employing authorities or by suitably constituted special agencies; and all examinations, whether by universities or by other agencies, should be open to all persons who have studied within or outside the formal system of education.

Equality of educational opportunity for the young will have meaning only if we reform the present system of free expansion of secondary and higher education with open-door access on the broad lines indicated above.

### The Common School System

In this context of promoting equality through education, mention must be made of an interesting recommendation put forward by the Education Commission (1964-1966). The Commission was of

the view that it was the responsibility of the educational system to bring different social classes and groups together and thereby promote the emergence of an egalitarian and integrated society. It found that the educational system which was created in India by the British, and continued unchanged even after independence, was not only not fulfilling this role but was also tending to widen the gulf between the well-to-do classes and the poor people. It, therefore recommended a radical transformation of the existing system through the adoption of the common school. Its observations on the subject are so important that they have been quoted below *in extenso*.

1.36 *The Common School*. In a situation of the type we have in India, it is the responsibility of the educational system to bring the different social classes and groups together and thus promote the emergence of an egalitarian and integrated society. But at present instead of doing so, education itself is tending to increase social segregation and to perpetuate and widen class distinctions. At the primary stage, the free schools to which the masses send their children are maintained by the Government and local authorities and are generally of poor quality. Some of the private schools are definitely better; but since many of them charge high fees, they are availed of only by the middle and the higher classes. At the secondary stage, a large proportion of the good schools are private but many of them also charge high fees which are normally beyond the means of any but the top ten per cent of the people, though some of the middle class parents make great sacrifices to send their children to them. There is thus segregation in education itself – the minority of private, fee-charging, better schools meeting the needs of the upper classes and the vast bulk of free, publicly maintained but poor schools being utilised by the rest. What is worse, this segregation is increasing and tending to widen the gulf between the classes and the masses.

1.37 This is one of the major weaknesses of the existing educational system. Good education, instead of being available to all children, or at least to all the able children from every stratum of society, is available only to a small minority which is usually selected not on the basis of talent but on the basis of its capacity to pay fees. The identification and development of the total national pool of ability is

greatly hampered. The position is thus undemocratic and inconsistent with the ideal of an egalitarian society. The children of the masses are compelled to receive substandard education and, as the programme of scholarships is not very large, sometimes even the ablest among them are unable to find access to such good schools as exist, while the economically privileged parents are able to 'buy' good education for their children. This is bad for the children from the rich and the privileged groups. It gives them a short-term advantage in so far as it enables them to perpetuate and consolidate their position. But it must be realised that, in the long run, their self-interest lies in identifying themselves with the masses. By segregating their children, such privileged parents prevent them from sharing the life and experience of the children of the poor and coming into contact with the realities of life. In addition to weakening social cohesion, they also render the education of their own children anaemic and incomplete.

1.38 If these evils are to be eliminated and the educational system is to become a powerful instrument of national development in general, and social and national integration in particular, we must move towards the goal of a common school system of public education

- which will be open to all children, irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic conditions or social status;
- where access to good education will depend not on wealth or class but on talent;
- which will maintain adequate standards in all schools and provide at least a reasonable preparation of quality institutions;
- in which no tuition fee will be charged; and
- which would meet the needs of the average parent so that he would not ordinarily feel the need to send his children to expensive schools outside the system.

Such an educational system has, for instance, been built up in the USSR and is one of the major factors which have contributed to its progress. It has also been developed, in different forms and to varying degrees, in other nations like the USA, France and the Scandinavian countries. The traditional English system has been different and has allowed good education, under private management, to be

largely reserved for those who have the capacity to pay the necessary fees. But recently, the so-called Public Schools have come in for strong criticism in England itself and it is not unlikely that a radical change may be initiated to make them more democratic. A somewhat similar system was transplanted in India by British administrators and we have clung to it so long because it happened to be in tune with the traditional hierarchical structure of our society. Whatever its past history may be, such a system has no valid place in the new democratic and socialistic society we desire to create.

As an important component of the common school system, the Education Commission recommended the adoption of the neighbourhood school concept. It said:

From this point of view, we recommend the ultimate adoption of the 'neighbourhood school concept' first at the lower primary stage and then at the higher primary. The neighbourhood school concept implies that each school should be attended by all children in the neighbourhood irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic condition or social status, so that there would be no segregation in schools. Apart from social and national integration, two other important arguments can be advanced in support of the proposal. In the first place, a neighbourhood school will provide 'good' education to children because sharing life with the common people is, in our opinion, an essential ingredient of good education. Secondly, the establishment of such schools will compel the rich, privileged, powerful classes to take an interest in the system of public education and thereby bring about its early improvement.'

There is really very little to add to the strong case for the proposal made out by the Education Commission. There is also no need to argue the case of the common school with the common people who have everything to gain and nothing to lose under this programme. The only group that stands to 'lose', not in reality but according to its own perception, is the class of well-to-do persons who now opt out of the system by sending their children to the special schools of one type or another and thereby also buy their freedom from the compulsion to improve the general school system. If this class could be convinced of the desirability of the

reform, there is no problem in implementing the recommendation.

What are the objections of this class to the idea of the common school? The first objection is academic and refers to the poor quality of the general schools which, in their opinion, are 'terrible'. The second argument is partly constitutional and partly theoretical. They attach great significance to the democratic right of the parent to choose the school for his child and claim that this right cannot and should not be abrogated under any circumstances. They also argue that this concept of the common school will run counter to Art. 30 of the Constitution and the rights guaranteed to the minorities thereunder. Finally, they also challenge the view that sharing life with the people is 'good education', and that their children will be contaminated if they come into too close a contact with the rabble. All things considered, there seems to be little possibility of overcoming the legal hurdles or bringing about a change of heart on the part of these classes and their agreeing to the proposal on moral or voluntary basis. The only practical method of implementation appears to be that the state should make a firm decision in favour of the proposal in the social and national interest and then introduce the new scheme through legislation. Although considerable opposition is expected, it will not be difficult for an enlightened and progressive national leadership to implement.

The crux of the matter is the method of implementation. One view is that the common school system should be introduced *immediately* without even waiting for the general schools to improve, because the very entry of the children of the rich and influential persons is the surest and the quickest method to improve them. The other view advocates that the main thrust of our effort should be on improving the schools so that there would be no desire on the part of the average parent to send his children to schools outside the system. The Education Commission supported the latter view because it believed that the classes would not agree to send their children to the general schools until they were substantially improved. But if the state can muster the will, the first alternative will be a quicker solution of the problem.

### Radical Transformation of the Formal System of Education

As was pointed out earlier, the formal educational system created by the British administration was an instrument of educating the upper classes and not the poor people. Any proposals to provide equality of educational opportunity must, therefore, include proposals for changing the structure and content of this educational system. Mahatma Gandhi realised this and, therefore, laid great emphasis on his scheme of Basic Education under which he wanted the educational system to be built round socially useful productive work. From time to time, proposals were also put forward to change the character of the formal education system radically by the introduction of a large non-formal element. In particular, the late Shri R.V. Parulekar showed how the existing system of elementary education would have to be transformed through introduction of non-formal element if it was to serve the purposes of people's education. Suggestions to the same end were also made by the late Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The Education Commission (1964-1966) developed these ideas still further, extended them to all stages of education, and made a number of radical proposals to change both the structure and the content of education.<sup>10</sup> In other words, there was a growing realisation during this period that, if true equality of educational opportunity was to be provided to the millions of poor people who lived below the poverty line, a radical reorganisation of the formal educational system inherited from the British was inescapable; and the national leadership also lost no opportunity to declare, from every platform, that it was committed to do so.<sup>11</sup>

It was pointed out earlier that unless this system was radically altered, it would not be possible to provide universal elementary education for all children in the age group 6-14. It was further shown that it would not be possible to create equality of educational opportunity even in secondary and higher education unless a large non-formal element was introduced in the system. It is, thus, evident that the formal system of education, as it is now organised, is the worst enemy of equalising educational opportunity. In spite of this realisation, and in spite of our oft-repeated commitment to transform this system radically, the

unfortunate fact remains that we have allowed the system to continue almost unchanged over the past 54 years. This has been our greatest and most signal failure in educational reconstruction. This has also been the biggest hurdle in spreading education among the people and creating greater equality of educational opportunity.<sup>12</sup>

One understands why the British administrators adopted this model in the early nineteenth century. At that time, there was hardly any other model available; and, moreover, as they wanted to educate the classes only, the inequalitarian character of the system became really a *plus* point in its favour. But what one fails to understand is the continuance of this model even to this day in spite of all our commitments to the education of the people and in spite of all the findings all the world over that it is impossible to provide adequate education to the poorer social groups and equality of educational opportunity unless this model is either abandoned or radically modified.

#### Direct Attempts to Promote Equality in Society (1947-1975)

Equality in education may rise into society. Alternatively, attempts to introduce equality in society may be reflected, and perhaps more effectively, in creating equality of educational opportunity. For a proper understanding of the problem, therefore, it is also necessary to review briefly the changes towards equality which we tried to introduce directly in society and the effect they have had on equality of educational opportunity.

As pointed out earlier, the Indian national leadership was committed not only to make changes in education but also in society through economic and political action. The objectives of this transformation were first spelt out in the constructive programmes which Mahatma Gandhi promoted side by side with his struggle for political independence and were later included in the Preamble to the Constitution, in the Fundamental Rights, and in the Directive Principles of State Policy. The Preamble to the Constitution, for instance, speaks of our solemn resolution to secure social, economic and political justice and equality of status and opportunity for all the citizens. In the political sphere, we

adopted adult franchise and decided to devolve political power still further in rural areas through the programmes of a revival of village panchayats (Art. 40). The Constitution also made equality before law (Art. 14), equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Art. 16), abolition of untouchability (Art. 17), prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth (Art. 15), and prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour as Fundamental Rights (Art. 23); and the Directive Principles of State Policy recognised rights to work, education and public assistance in cases of undeserved want (Art. 47), and promised improvement in the levels of nutrition, public health, and standards of living of the people (Art. 47), promoting with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the community (Art. 46), just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief (Art. 42), a living wage, full employment, and social and cultural opportunities to all workers (Art. 43), and promotion of welfare of the people (Art. 38).

We have tried to live up to at least some of these promises and have also achieved some results. The introduction of adult franchise has been an important egalitarian measure. The political authority of the erstwhile princely order has been liquidated, along with their purses and privileges. The enactment of the Hindu Code is definitely an achievement from the point of view of giving equality of status to women, although the uniform Civil Code for citizens is still a hope and although in this respect, as well as in respect of other social legislation such as the abolition of untouchability, the laws concerned have not been adequately supported by popular movements. We have mounted a big programme of health and medical services; but here also, as in education, the benefits mostly go to the urban areas and to the upper and middle classes. We have achieved some results with our welfare programmes. In the economic field, we have tried to work bravely on several fronts. We have tried to rearrange the agrarian relations structure, and, in particular, to abolish intermediary tenures and to ensure tenurial security to the actual tillers of the soil. There has been some redistribution of land through legislation on land ceilings. We have also made attempts



to provide a fair access to publicly supplied inputs and infrastructural services through the mechanism of cooperative distribution. A proposal for ceilings on urban property is also on the anvil. Life insurance and banks have been nationalised; so are coal mines and some textile mills. We have also expanded the public sector considerably and have tried to monitor the pattern of the private sector through an elaborate system of licensing, foreign exchange control, permits, adjustment in tax subsidies, and pricing policies. We have tried to control concentration of economic power to some extent, introduced several taxation proposals for redistribution of income, and enacted a good deal of progressive labour legislation; and so on. The results, however, have been rather tame. For various reasons, most of these measures have had only limited success; and not infrequently they have also accentuated certain evils such as tax evasion, black money, or corruption.

What has been the net result of all these attempts and to what extent have we been able to bring about real structural changes in society and a greater measure of equality? The answer must be, on the whole, very disappointing. At the attainment of independence, we had an inegalitarian society having a small proportion of well-to-do classes, while the bulk of the people lived below the poverty line. This picture remains essentially unchanged even today. It is true that some of the old classes such as the princes or the zamindars have disappeared while new classes such as the rich peasants have come up. The ruling classes now include the big businessmen, the middle level traders, moneylenders, and several other categories of middle men, all employees in the organised sector, including the employees of the central and the state governments, public sector undertakings and even private enterprises, the well-to-do farmers, and all persons, who have received university education. At the same time, the proportion of the poor people living below the poverty line has remained more or less constant and, at any rate, their absolute numbers are now far larger than in 1947. We have not been able to meet their minimum needs; and even the modest objective of assuring a monthly income of Rs. 20 per head to every citizen (at 1960-61 prices) has not been reached as yet, and may not be

reached even a decade hence. In spite of all the attempts to introduce direct social changes, therefore, the society continues to be largely inegalitarian.

It is this privileged class structure of property, salaried employment in the organised sector, and higher education which is proving to be the principal stumbling block for introducing equality and for giving a fair deal to the common man of India. It is those classes that have been the principal beneficiaries of the planning process, as of everything else; the whole exercise is meant for them; and even when it is not, there are diversions and miscarriages in implementation which ensure that the ultimate benefits of development percolate largely to them, by hook or by crook. The position has been well stated in the following catechism of T.L. Peacock in *Maid Marian*:

*Question* : Why are laws made?

*Answer* : For the profit of somebody.

*Question* : Of whom?

*Answer* : Of him who makes them first, and of others as it may happen.

It is not that the poor people have not benefited at all. They have received some crumbs, marginally, and incidentally, or "as it may happen".

### Summing Up

What are the general conclusions we can draw in the light of this review of the attempts made over the past 160 years to promote equality of educational opportunity?

If we were to look back and compare the educational system we had in 1800 with what we have today, there is no doubt that we have made tremendous progress. Quantitatively, our educational system has grown immensely and is now the second largest in the world in terms of absolute numbers. Even qualitatively, the modern system is incomparably superior to the traditional one. It has helped us to run the democratic administration of the country, to create a stock of highly trained scientific manpower, to improve our agriculture, to modernise

our industries, to develop the Indian languages, to provide health services of high quality, and to become a modernising nation of considerable achievements and immense potential. These gains, most of which have been achieved after 1947, are outstanding and we have every right to be proud of them.

To what extent does this system provide equality of educational opportunity? To begin with, the very concept of equality, which did not have even a theoretical acceptance in 1800, is now an integral part of our thinking. The rigours of the hierarchical steel-frame have been considerably subdued and equality promoted, partly through direct efforts made to change the society and partly through the development of education. Our educational institutions are now open to all citizens irrespective of caste, religious or sex. Education has spread widely even in the rural areas, and a good deal of financial support is available to children from poor families who desire to receive secondary and higher education.

There has been a tremendous spread of education among women and an immense improvement in their status. Education has also spread widely among the scheduled castes and tribes and other deprived social groups, and it is the largest and most effective avenue of vertical mobility for them. In spite of these gains, the fact remains that the educational system we have created is still highly inequalitarian. We have not been able to adopt the common school system, or to provide universal elementary education, or to transform the traditional system of formal education to meet the needs of the poorer classes or workers. Consequently, the bulk of the population which lives below the poverty line is practically outside the school system. These people are still mostly illiterate. A large proportion of their children, no doubt, do drop into the system. But they also drop out of it, sooner rather than later, so that only a small proportion of them complete even the elementary stage. The benefits of the educational system, especially at the secondary and the university stages, go mostly to the well-to-do classes who use it to strengthen and perpetuate their privileges. It is true that the poor people do get some marginal benefits and that a varying proportion of individuals from deprived social backgrounds are co-opted into the system

year after year. But one cannot also ignore the negative aspects of this phenomenon that it serves to legitimise a basically inequalitarian structure.

## REFERENCES

1. For details of one such struggle that took place in the Poona Sanskrit College, see Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education in the Province of Bombay* (1885-1955).
2. Ibid., p. 112.
3. *Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882.*
4. Nurullah and Naik, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-102.
5. For details, see the statistics at the end of the book.
6. In view of the importance of the issue, a paper written earlier on the subject has been reproduced as Appendix I.
7. For details, see statistics at the end of the book.
8. It must be noted that the underprivileged strive not for the abolition of privilege as such, but for climbing into privilege. This basically unjust and inequalitarian system, therefore, is supported by both the privileged and the underprivileged groups.
9. *Report of the Education Commission (1964-66)*. para. 10.19. the programme.
10. The problem has been discussed in detail in J.P. Naik, *Elementary Education in India: A Promise to Keep*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, Chapter II.
11. For instance, addressing the first Education Ministers' Conference organised after independence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed: "Whenever conferences were called to form a plan for education in India, the tendency, as a rule, was to maintain the existing system with slight modifications. This must not happen now. Great changes have taken place in the country and the educational system must also be in keeping with them. The entire basis of education must be revolutionised." (Quoted in Nurullah and Naik, *op. cit.*, p. 421.)
12. This issue will be examined in detail in Chapter III which deals with the quantitative aspects of education.

### QUALITY

Of the three basic goals discussed in this book, quality is most central to education. Quantity is relevant because we do not want education to be the preserve of a few to enable them to climb to privilege; and equality becomes relevant because we believe in social justice and do not desire to discriminate, in regard to educational opportunity, between one individual and another, except to provide special support to the handicapped, the deprived, or the underprivileged. But both these issues are external to education while quality is totally internal, its very life or soul. Any education without quality is no education at all: it will not be able to fulfil its promises and will also do immense harm.

#### The Basic Concepts

There is a good deal of confusion, in the literature on the subject, about the precise connotations of the concept of quality in education. Three different expressions – quality, standards, and efficiency – are used in a variety of meanings, sometimes as synonyms and sometimes to indicate different concepts either separately or in combinations. It is, therefore, necessary and desirable to define specifically a set of relevant concepts about quality in education.

In evaluating the 'quality' of an educational system as a whole or of any of its components (such as teachers or textbooks, or a specific method of teaching and evaluation), it becomes necessary to discuss the following issues among others :

1. *Ends and Means*: It is often necessary to examine the significance or the relevance of the goals of education from the point of view of the two overriding purposes education has to serve : (a) the development of the individual in relation to himself, nature, and society; and (b) development of the society itself.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, since means are as important as ends, the methods used to achieve the goals of education will also have to be subjected to the same rigorous scrutiny.
2. *Capacity*: Very often, one is required to take a view about the potential of a given education system to achieve its

stated ends. Broadly speaking, this involves a discussion of its content, structure, personnel, organisation, and finance.

3. *Level of Performance (or Standards)*: Here the main issues discussed relate to the actual performance of the system from time to time on the basis of given criteria and techniques of measurement adopted.
4. *Efficiency*: This involves consideration of the relationship between the actual performance of the system and its potential (or of input-output relationships which include problems such as maximising the output for a given level of inputs or minimising the inputs for a given level of output).
5. *Comprehensive Evaluation*: Very often, one is also required to take an overall *comprehensive* view of the education system or of one or more of its components from *every* point of view.

A good deal of confusion results because we mostly use only three expressions - quality, standards, and efficiency – to indicate the result of an evaluation under all these five different tasks. What is worse, we also use the same three expressions indiscriminately to denote all the five evaluations separately as well as in different combinations. I, therefore, propose, on an *ad hoc* but convenient basis, to use the following terms in the course of this book:

1. *Quality*: This should be looked upon as a comprehensive or master concept. Considerations of the quality of an educational system will, therefore, involve a consideration of all these independent variables, viz., significance, relevance, capacity, standards, and efficiency.
2. *Significance*: It is always desirable to discuss the ends and means together. The judgement regarding the worthwhileness of the ends and means of an educational system will indicate its significance.
3. *Relevance*: This may be defined as the relationship between an education system and the individual and social goals of development

4. *Capacity*: This term will indicate the *potential* of an educational system to realise its goals, irrespective of its actual performance at a given place or time.
5. *Standards*: This concept will be used to denote the level of attainment of students in a given system of education.
6. *Efficiency*: This concept will be used when the relationship of the actual performance of a system to its potential is being discussed or questions relating to the input-output relationship are raised.

#### Quality of Education: British Phase (1813-1921)

Modern Indian education began with a debate on quality in the early years of the nineteenth century. The British administrators had a choice between two options and were keenly divided over them. One group (classicists) was of the view that the indigenous system of education was good for the people and that it should receive full support from government. The second group (Anglicists) believed that a new educational system should be created which would teach European knowledge through the medium of English. The latter view ultimately triumphed, partly due to the able advocacy of Macaulay and partly due to the support of Lord William Bentick and enlightened Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of Indians to European knowledge had a liberalising effect and helped the process of modernisation but the thoughtless destruction of the indigenous system of education, especially of the elementary schools, was a very wrong policy. The attempt to cut the Indian people off from their own cultural roots also had bad repercussions which took us several decades to correct and which have not yet been fully eliminated. The effects of the introduction of the English language had also similar mixed results. It was a great advantage from several points of view and, in the initial stages, helped the flowering of the Indian languages as well. But the continued dominance of English in all the major walks of life has been a disadvantage: it has stunted the growth of Indian languages and helped in the creation of elite groups who are by and large alienated from the masses.

The important point to note in this debate is the close link between the 'quality' of education and the social power-structure

that defines it. The British administrators of the period defined 'quality' in the interests of British imperialism with the primary objective of displacing the elite trained in the indigenous system by a new class of people who would be favourable to their rule and to the capitalist system they were building up. Unfortunately, this link does not receive adequate attention and weightage in the discussions on quality.

This controversy between the old and the new systems of education came to an end with the Wood's Education Despatch of 1854 which also laid an elaborate foundation for the new system with the creation of education departments and the establishment of universities. Between 1854 and 1921, the modern education system which the British administrators wanted to create took concrete shape, sent its roots deep down in the social milieu, and became firmly established. As a starting point for discussion, therefore, it is necessary to analyse those features of this system which have a bearing on quality.

#### Educational Goals and Processes

The British administrators had a limited educational objective: to create an educational system in India which would be broadly modelled after that in England and which would make India an asset to the Empire – a supplier of raw materials for the British industries and a buyer of its finished products. They emphasized, therefore, the individual rather than the social goals of education. In fact, the basis of the educational system they created here was the same as that in England, viz., a liberal individualist tradition based on competition. That this system should appear as natural and best to the British administrators of the day is understandable. But was it really the best system for the Indian people? There is no doubt that liberalism did considerable good in fighting against the narrow traditionalism of the Indian society of the period.<sup>3</sup> It also led to several reform movements, including even the first steps towards political independence. But let us not forget that the ills of the Indian society were so many and so powerful that mere liberalism was too weak an instrument to bring about the needed transformation. It should not also be forgotten that the promotion of individualism and competition through education has had many negative aspects. In the Indian tradition, the individual was

trained to efface himself in the interests of his family, kin group, or caste and to function in a cooperative rather than a competitive milieu. What we needed was a programme where the individual would be freed from the tyranny of caste and trained to think in social and secular terms, without destroying the co-operative values or inflating his self-centredness. This would have been possible through the adoption of social development as the goal of the educational system. But this was not done; and in a system almost exclusively devoted to the pursuit of personal goals and based on individualism and competition, the good in the old tradition was lost without destroying the tyranny of the caste. The promotion of individualism and competition, which could play a useful role in a society of expanding opportunities (such as the British one) or of unlimited new opportunities (such as the American one) did not also have much of a place in the inegalitarian Indian society with its decreasing opportunities. All that it achieved was the generation of a retrace for privilege in which the upper and the middle classes had an immense advantage over the poor people.

Another important characteristic of the system, quite in keeping with the ideas of the period, was the excessive emphasis on information gathering with consequent neglect of the two other processes of education – development of skills (especially productive skills) and promotion of appropriate values. The educational system assumed that knowledge was something which was outside the individual, that it was good for the individual to acquire as much of it as possible and to store it in his brain, irrespective of the fact whether or not it was related to his life and environment, that the individual must be able to recall this stored knowledge whenever needed, and that the mere possession of knowledge was a power or privilege which put the individual concerned above those who did not have it and also entitled him to social and economic rewards. The inevitable corollary of this approach is to overemphasize the role of information-gathering in education as its most significant process, to lay undue emphasis on mere memorisation and to develop, what Paolo Freire calls, the bank-deposit system of education, under which knowledge is to be deposited in the brain for withdrawal at will. It will also be readily seen that this is

essentially a white-collar concept which denigrates both manual labour and production. As it happened, this outlook was also shared by the traditional educational system and by the classes of Indian society who were keen to avail themselves of the new education system. Consequently, this emphasis on information-gathering and comparative neglect of social and productive skills became an essential and deep-rooted feature of the new educational system.

As a corollary to the above, the skills which the new education system emphasized were verbal and linguistic. The study of the mother-tongue did not have priority. But even here, it was the ability to use the *standard* language (which was essentially a middle class value) that came to be rewarded. Much higher emphasis was laid on the proficiency in English, on the ability to pronounce it correctly, on correct spelling, on good handwriting (the typewriters had not been invented then), on the capacity to write good English, and on the ability to speak eloquently. In contrast with this, the production skills had no place at all in the education system. Nor was any attention paid to social skills; and even individual skills such as self-study habits or problem-solving ability were not emphasized.

### Content

As a corollary of the above, it follows that the content of education was narrow with an overemphasis on the study of languages and humanities. Although the Despatch of 1854 made a specific reference to the spread of Western science, both science and technology had a very small part to play in the education system. It is obviously not necessary to discuss all the different curricula of this period in detail. For our limited purpose, however, it may be pointed out that the main object of the elementary stage, where the mother-tongue was the medium of instruction, was to teach the three R's and simple general knowledge related to day-to-day use.

The main objective of the secondary stage was to teach the English language: at the lower secondary stage, English was taught as a subject; and at the higher stage, it was used as a medium of instruction. It was, therefore, in higher education only

that attempts were made to spread European knowledge. This had two undesirable consequences: (a) higher education became the most significant stage and elementary and secondary education were more like its preparatory steps than self-contained or terminal stages; and (b) because of the very limited time available, the standards of higher education were necessarily low and a good deal of what was taught in universities and colleges really belonged to the school stage. Moreover, higher education was not as diversified as it ought to have been (the general education in humanities and languages taking the lion's share of the enrolment), and professional education and research were largely neglected.

### Methods of Teaching and Evaluation

Because of its emphasis on information gathering, the system laid considerable emphasis, as was stated earlier, on rote memorisation. This weakness was further accentuated by the use of English as medium of instruction. A system of external examinations was introduced and it came to dominate the entire educational process. Because of the imperialistic character of the administration, the system also tended to be centralised, uniform, and rigid. These weaknesses became so deep-rooted that we are not able to shake them off even today.

### Organisation and Finance

The funds allocated to education were far too limited even in 1921. The control of the system was also firmly vested in the education departments which were dominated and controlled by a small cadre of I.E.S. officers who were mostly expatriates.

How does one assess the quality of this system of education? By 1854, the controversy between the traditional and the new systems of education had been finally decided in favour of the latter. Hence the quality of the new system has now to be judged, not in comparison with the earlier traditional system to which the new system was undoubtedly superior, but from the point of view of the needs of the society itself. Quite obviously, the new education system cannot be rated high from this larger viewpoint. Its principal assets were the dominant liberal studies of languages

and humanities, the good command over English which it gave to most of its students, and the access it provided to European knowledge. On the other hand, its weaknesses were far too many. It over-emphasized information-gathering, and rote memorisation. It laid undue emphasis on verbal and linguistic skills, to the almost total neglect of the manual and socially productive ones.

The value system it inculcated had some positive aspects, but was on the whole very negative in the Indian context. The content of education was too narrow; elementary education was mostly confined to three R's and a little general information; secondary education was largely devoted to the study of English; and higher education did not maintain good standards and was not adequately diversified. What is worse, all the qualitative concerns of the system, its value system, attitude to knowledge, emphasis on verbal and linguistic skills, and content were favourable to the well-to-do classes and unfavourable to the poor mass of toiling workers. Consequently, the inequalitarian character of the system was strengthened further.

One point must be made. Within these limitations, the system did function with considerable efficiency in the sense that it did achieve, to a fair extent, the goals which it had set before itself. This was due to several factors. The bulk of the students in secondary and higher education belonged to the upper and the middle classes. The teachers were fairly competent and conscientious and proved effective. At the elementary stage, however, the attempt to extend to the poor people an education system basically meant for the well-to-do middle classes did not succeed and the rates of stagnation and wastage became disturbingly high. It was also a great advantage that the size of the system had not expanded beyond manageable proportions. Above all, one extraneous factor whitewashed all the weaknesses of the system and proved to be its saviour, viz., all the survivors of the system could easily get a job in the government or in the organised sector or could make a good living as self-employed persons in some of the modern professions. This kept up the motivation of the average student, maintained the prestige and the popularity of the system, and helped it grow in spite of all its weaknesses.

It may be worthwhile to compare two contemporary assessments of the quality of this educational system. The first is the assessment of the British administrators themselves. They were unhappy at the high rates of wastage and stagnation at the elementary stage. They were particularly unhappy at the indiscipline among the students in secondary and higher education (which was only another name for the national upsurge that was now growing in the country) and at the fall of standards at these stages (which, to them, meant only a fall in the standards of the average student's command over the English language). They would have liked to vocationalise the secondary stage and to make it terminal. But in the absence of effective programmes of economic development, their attempts in this direction did not succeed. They also realised that a reform of higher education was urgent, and it was this realisation that had led to the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19). On the whole, they took the view that the system they had introduced was basically sound, and that the main problem was undue expansion of secondary and higher education and deterioration of standards. They, therefore, favoured an improvement of standards rather than a further expansion of the system.

The same educational system, however, appeared entirely different, from the point of view of quality, to Indian national opinion. Till about 1900, there was not much discontent against the system. But in the first two decades of this century, dissatisfaction began to grow on several grounds. There was a strong feeling that education should be under Indian control and developed in the interest of the nation. The attempt to cut off our cultural roots and to display European knowledge as a *summum bonum* was also resented. As Mahatma Gandhi said, "I will let the winds from all quarters of the world blow in through the windows of my house. But I will refuse to be blown off my feet by any." There was also a growing demand for the introduction of compulsory elementary education. The Indian people also wanted further and more rapid expansion at the secondary and university stages because it was this education which was helping the modernisation of the country. The overemphasis on the teaching of English came to be criticised, and a demand was put forward that the medium of instruction at all stages should be an

Indian language and that early steps should be taken to give at least secondary education through the medium of an Indian language. The neglect of the teaching of science and technology was severely criticised and it was urged that technical education and industrial development of the country should be given high priority. The attempt of the British administration to inculcate loyalty to the Crown was strongly resented, and a demand was made that patriotism should be one of the important values to be promoted through education. In fact, in 1921, Mahatma Gandhi gave a call to the students to boycott schools and colleges which were having a harmful effect; and several institutions of national education were started in the country during this period as an important innovation outside the formal system.<sup>4</sup> It was this growing discontent against the system that prompted the British government to transfer education to Indian control. It may also be pointed out incidentally that the wide divergence between these two evaluations shows how quality has deep socioeconomic roots.

#### Quality in Education: Indian Phase (1921-1975)

In evaluating the progress made in the qualitative improvement of education during the Indian phase spread over the past 54 years, and especially since independence, two major points have to be kept in view. One readily understands and forgives certain failures of the educational system as created by the British, partly because it was an alien imperialist power and partly because the modern developments in educational theory were not known at that time. But the same cannot be said of Indian administrators, especially since independence. We have a right to expect that our own government would pay adequate heed to the following important aspects of the problem which have now become prominent in the development of educational systems.

1. Education and development are not two different things but the two sides of the same coin: education should lead to development and development should create the motivation for education as well as provide the tools for it. This was the basic recommendation of the Education Commission (1964-66). The social goals of education, therefore, need far greater emphasis than individual goals.

especially in a developing society which has accepted socialism.

2. The development of skills, especially productive skills, and promotion of values are far more important and need much greater attention than information gathering.
3. From the point of view of linking education to development, its content must emphasize
  - literacy and language skills which make an individual largely autonomous for further learning;
  - numeracy and mathematical skills;
  - technocracy or the essential knowledge of science and technology;
  - work-experience and social service;
  - liberal, rational, and secular orientation;
  - political education; and
  - ethical or moral education based on austerity, self-restraint, and concern for others.

These fundamentals should really permeate all stages of education, only the details varying in accordance with the age and maturity of students.

4. In the interest of creating an egalitarian society and equality of educational opportunity, we must see that quality does not get linked to privilege and all bridges built earlier between quality and privilege must be destroyed.
5. Quality should be defined, not in narrow middle class terms, but in the interest of the people as a whole. It is recognition of a large variety of competences and the grant of equal status to them that will make 'quality' compatible with both 'equality' and 'quantity'.

On the basis of the above evaluative criteria, our record of achievements and failures becomes quite a mixed bag; there have been several change in the quality of education, some positive and some negative, while some of the more objectionable features of the earlier system have continued almost unchanged to this day.

### Achievements

An important change introduced in the educational system and which has a definite qualitative impact is that the spread of European knowledge ceased to be the grand objective of education. Today, we regard preservation, dissemination, and acquisition of knowledge as the goals of education. This is a universal quest of man, and we welcome all knowledge acquired by other nations, whether in Europe or outside, and we have also developed our research well enough to make our own contributions to knowledge. The studies in our education system are no longer Europe-centred, as they once were; and the core of the studies is now built round India, our history, our present situation and problems, our needs, and our aspirations. Our university studies are no longer over-dominated by languages and humanities. They have been immensely diversified with emphasis on science and technology. We have also attained a fairly respectable place in the community of nations in this universal pursuit of knowledge as is evident from the size of our high-level trained manpower and our achievements in the field of agricultural, nuclear, and space research. Obviously, there is a good deal more to be done. But we have made remarkable progress in this field in the past five decades, and this is one respect in which, our standards are far better today than what they were in 1921.

We have also moved a good deal away from the dominance that the study of English had in the education system (and also in the courts and administration), although our attitudes on the subject still continue to be ambivalent. Between 1921 and 1947, English practically ceased to be the medium of instruction at the secondary stage. Steps are now being taken to make the Indian languages the media of instruction at the university stage. A programme of preparing materials in the different Indian languages for use in higher education has been initiated, and it is making some progress. The Indian languages are also being adopted in the administration at all levels. With the large expansion of secondary and higher education that has taken place, the average student's command over English has necessarily deteriorated. But as English still continues to be the language for getting prestigious and well-paid jobs, a large number of families send their children to English medium schools right from the



nursery stage so that the number of English medium schools has shown a very large increase and they have become a subsystem for the privileged to preserve their position. Hindi is steadily gaining ground as a link language and is gradually replacing or supplementing English for certain purposes. In an emotive and explosive issue of this type, neither effective planning nor forced pace is possible or even desirable. One can only persist doggedly in the promotion of certain agreed programmes and wait patiently till the problems sort themselves out over time.

A major thrust of our efforts to improve quality in the past five decades has been to upgrade the information content of our syllabi at all levels and in all subjects. A comparison of our syllabi in 1921 with those in 1975 at the elementary stage, at the secondary stage, and in the different subjects at the university stage will clearly bring out two points: we now impart information in a much larger variety of subjects than at any time in the past; and that, in each subject, and at each level, we are continually trying to reach higher standards. A good deal has also been done to provide for co-curricular activities and to raise their level. Side by side, improvements have been made in textbooks and other teaching and learning materials. Considerable resources, partly provided by the state and partly raised by the community, have been invested in improving the physical plants of educational institutions. The education departments have been strengthened, both quantitatively and qualitatively, to deal with the challenges of the expanding system; and increasing investments have been made in the provision of student services and amenities. These reforms, along with the improvement in the general education and professional training of teachers which has been brought about in the meanwhile, have also made it possible to improve the methods of teaching to some extent. It is these developments, taken together, that have led to considerable improvement in the standards of information which the average student of today shows in comparison with his counterpart in 1921. With the explosion of knowledge that is taking place in the world, this is welcome; and we may even feel proud of the fact that our children today know many more things than their counterparts did in 1921 or in 1947. But as the programme is now being implemented, one does have some misgivings and wonder whether all this attempt

to turn out so many 'memory machines' with ever-increasing content is really worthwhile.

Another major thrust of our efforts in qualitative improvement has been on improving the quality of the different inputs into the education system. For instance, we have tried to raise the level of general and professional preparation of teachers at all stages. In 1921, the bulk of elementary teachers had only completed the elementary school and a large proportion of them had received indifferent or no professional training. Today, the completion of the secondary school is the minimum general qualification for an elementary school teacher, and the proportion of even graduates among them is increasing. The bulk of them are trained, the duration of training has been raised, in most cases, to two years, and the quality of training has been considerably improved. The teachers at the secondary stage – the bulk of whom were only matriculates in 1921 – are now graduates, with a fair proportion of postgraduates. The bulk of these teachers are also trained and the quality of training has been improved. A similar upgrading of qualifications has also taken place at the university stage, especially in the university teaching departments and good colleges. These reforms have been facilitated by two developments: expansion of secondary and higher education which has increased the output of matriculates, graduates, postgraduates, and persons with research degrees; and the deliberate policy, which has been pursued, especially since 1947, of improving the remuneration and service conditions of teachers. A comparison of the scales of pay of teachers in 1921, or even in 1947, with those prevalent today will show a great improvement in this regard, even after adjustment for rise in prices. This is certainly an achievement, although one would like to see the school teachers paid better and the gap between university and school teachers reduced.

### Main Failures

Unfortunately, there is also a considerable negative side to this picture, and several developments of the past five decades have had an adverse effect on the standards of education. For instance, there has been a great emphasis on the expansion of facilities at all stages so that the resources available for qualitative

improvement – which has always been a second Priority – have been far too inadequate. The qualitative reforms have not also been pursued with zeal, and continuity of effort which is needed for achieving worthwhile results. It has also not been possible to keep pace with the rapid expansion taking place so that even as the number of good institutions is increasing and some of them are becoming better, the number of substandard institutions has also been increasing very fast, especially because, under pressures of popular demand, it has not often been possible to insist on the fulfilment of even the minimum standards in the new institutions that are being established.

The system still continues to be highly centralised and rigid, with little freedom for experimentation or creative innovation on the part of schools or teachers. There is an emphasis on uniformity and an unwritten convention that either everybody moves or none moves so that, in practice, everyone gets almost totally immobilised. The efficiency of the system has deteriorated and perhaps the factors that have affected the standards in education most are the weakening of motivation among students, deterioration in professional standards among teachers, and breakdown of the day-to-day functioning of the educational institutions over long periods of time due to disturbances of some kind or the other. Very often, the normal educational process in the classroom just does not take place.

Equally serious are our failures to carry out even those programmes of qualitative reform whose need has been universally accepted. For instance, not much has been done either for the development of skills or for the promotion of values. In so far as development of skills is concerned, there have been gains as well as losses. In good schools, which are not too many, attempts are being made to develop skills other than those of verbal or linguistic ability which were almost exclusively cultivated in 1921, and some attention is paid to such skills as development of self-study habits or problem-solving ability. The physical and artistic skills receive much better attention at present, and programmes of physical education, games and sports, and art and culture have found their way into a fair proportion of schools. But in the majority of institutions, little is done beyond imparting of information, and even the verbal and linguistic skills are not

properly developed. Above all, very little is being done to develop productive and social skills; and two significant programmes of reform, the introduction of work-experience and social service, remain largely unimplemented.

With regard to values also, little progress has been made, and there has perhaps been some sliding back as well. The liberal, individualistic, and competitive philosophy on which the educational system functioned before 1921 still continues to be the basic philosophy underlying the education system. In fact, there does not even appear to be a general recognition of the fact that a change is called for in this situation. The necessity to promote a number of other important values has been recognised, especially since independence. For instance, it is now recognised that we must cultivate a rational and scientific temper; democratic values such as tolerance, capacity to see the other man's point of view, willingness to give and take, and ability to work in plural groups with shared objectives; socialist values such as respect for and commitment to equality and social justice; and secular values such as respect for all religions and capacity to manage civic affairs without reference to religion. National integration is recognised as a very major value to be promoted and the need to fight against forces of linguism, regionalism, and communalism has also been accepted. Unfortunately, very little work has been done to guide the schools and teachers in evolving practical programmes to promote these values and few practical steps are being taken to give effect to all this wishful thinking. On the other hand, the crisis in values which one sees in society is necessarily being reflected in the education system itself.

The agitational approach in politics, which sanctifies destruction of public property, has been reflected in student behaviour. The political approach to industrial problems, which sanctifies strikes for any reason whatsoever, has also been reflected in the school system and the functioning of educational institutions is frequently disturbed. Corruption is no longer limited to politics and administration; it has found a place in education also and both students and parents are developing sceptical attitudes about impartiality and fairness of the educational system in such matters as admissions and examination results. It, therefore, appears that, in so far as

cultivation of values is concerned, the position today has probably worsened.

By far our greatest failure, however, refers to the link between quality and privilege. The British administrators, with their emphasis on the education of the upper and middle classes, deliberately built a link between quality and privilege through such measures as the use of English as the medium of instruction, the emphasis on middle class values and competences of verbal ability and linguistic skills, the denigration of manual labour and productive skills, the one-sided content of education, the basic value system of individualism and competitiveness, and the creation of special high quality private schools for the well-to-do. We cannot of course blame the British because this was precisely what they wanted to achieve. But it is a pity that, in spite of all our professed commitment to social justice and equality, little has been done to break this link during the past 54 years. The number of public schools, independent English medium schools, and such other special institutions for the well-to-do is now far larger than what it was in 1921 and has shown considerable increase since 1947. It is generally the well-to-do classes that get admission to good institutions at all stages. The Education Commission proposed that the common school system, with the neighbourhood school concept, should be adopted so that this link between quality and privilege could be broken at the school stage. But as was shown in the preceding chapter, this proposal has not been implemented. At the university stages also, admission to quality institutions such as good colleges, engineering and medical courses, and institutes of technology or management is largely secured by those from the well-to-do families educated in English medium schools. In fact, one would be even justified in holding that the link between quality and privilege is much stronger now than what it was in 1921.

### What is Quality?

With this experience before us, it is obvious that our first major task is to define 'quality' in education.

In this context, it is necessary to remember that all concepts of quality have deep sociocultural roots: an individual (or a class)

defining 'quality' will generally define it in such a manner that he is identified with quality and placed in a vantage position by the definition itself. For instance, the Brahmins who are more nimble with their tongue than with their hands will always define quality in terms of verbal or linguistic skills. Similarly, quality can be defined both on an egalitarian and on an inegalitarian basis, according to the value premises one adopts.

Excellence is not of one type and there are immense variations of excellence such as excellence in different human abilities, in different branches of knowledge, in production processes, and in different cultural and artistic forms. Even a single human ability can find expression in a large variety of excellence, e.g., skill in the use of fingers can seek excellence in embroidery, surgery, or music. If one is committed basically to equality, one would tend to regard all these different forms of excellence as basically equal. In such a case, the definition of quality would not conflict either with equality or with quantity. On the other hand, if one were committed to elitism or inegalitarian hierarchical class structure, one would tend to define excellence in a narrow way (which will necessarily imply an arbitrary definition based on ulterior considerations rather than on merits) and try to arrange the different types of excellence in a hierarchy suited to one's own selfish interests. We must be aware of these pitfalls and ensure that groups-in-power are not allowed to define equality to suit their own purposes.

It is equally necessary to remember that quality in education is a relative concept and can be defined only with reference to (a) our concepts of excellence in individual life and society for the improvement of which we propose to use education as an important instrument, and (b) our concepts of education itself.

### The New Society

As a first step towards a redefinition of quality, therefore, we must try to visualise, as clearly as possible, the new social order based on justice, equality, freedom, and dignity of the individual which we desire to create in the country. It was Mahatma Gandhi who, for the first time, initiated a dialogue on the subject. Some of his proposals then appeared unrealistic. But what he said then is all the more relevant now when the whole world has been

disillusioned about the highly industrialised, consumer-oriented, and centralised mass societies which we have created and which now threaten the very existence of man on account of growing population, exhaustion of non-renewable resources, stockpiling of nuclear weapons, increasing human alienation, and deepening tensions between the rich and the poor nations.

It is unfortunate that the dialogue which Gandhiji initiated on this subject has not been intensively pursued. Both in the national and in the international contexts, however, it is very urgent for us to re-examine the societal models we have adopted and to reformulate our social and individual goals. For instance, our international position is that the poor countries must be given a better deal and that, for this purpose, the resources of the world, which are now largely controlled by the rich nations, will have to be more equitably distributed between all the nations. This will have to be reflected in the national policies also. The well-to-do classes must begin by sharing poverty with the masses; the conspicuous consumption of the well-to-do (and especially of the top 30 per cent of the people) will have to be reduced; and the poor people (especially the bottom 30 per cent of the people) will have to be assured a minimum standard of living through a programme of guaranteed employment at a reasonable wage and an adequate public distribution system of essential consumer goods. This is the only way to abolish the grinding poverty of the masses which is our most crucial problem.

The rural areas will have to be the centre of all our developmental efforts and receive the highest priority in the investment of human talent, energy, and resources. The development of agriculture will have to be promoted through the creation of largely self-sufficient agro-industrial communities, thus shifting the emphasis away from urbanisation and especially from the unhealthy growth of huge metropolitan cities such as Bombay and Calcutta. The development of industry will have to be attempted, not on the basis of capital-intensive, mass-production-oriented high technology, but through labour-intensive techniques which will aim at production by the masses. The provision of essential social services such as health and education will have to be radically restructured with a decrease in emphasis on professionalism and consumption-orientation and

an increased emphasis on the autonomy and freedom of the individual and his participative contribution.

Above all, the highest priority will have to be given to population control because, if the total population does not level off at a desirable point, no attempts at development are likely to succeed. It also follows that the value system of such a society will also be radically different. We will have to abandon the basic assumptions of the industrial society, viz., unlimited stimulation of individual appetites for goods and services, unlimited exploitation of natural resources through mass production which involves huge waste, and consumption of goods and services as an end in itself. Instead, the emphasis in the new society will be on self-restraint, conservation of natural resources, production of cheap, durable, and easily repairable goods, and generally on a life of plain living combined with limitless pursuit of knowledge and excellence. The issue is obviously too vast to be discussed here in adequate detail or depth. But what is stated above will highlight the urgency of defining the direction and content of 'development' with which education is closely linked. Unless this is done, the objectives and techniques of education cannot be precisely conceived.

### The New Education

As education is closely related to society, our concepts of education will also have to be changed radically with a view to suit the requirements of the new society we propose to create. These have many significant aspects some of which were referred to in Chapter 4 in relation to equality. Some others will be discussed in the next chapter on quantity. For convenience of discussion, only those aspects of the new concept of education which are related to considerations of quality will be discussed here.

The first of these relates to the reordering of priorities among the goals of education. Education has always had two goals: development of the individual and development of the society. In the past, because of our emphasis on the liberal, individualistic, and competitive approach, the goal of individual development was highlighted and that of social development was generally ignored. When the creation of the new society becomes *the*

national objective, it follows that the highest priority will have to be given to the social objectives of education and their effective linking with development. This does not, of course, mean that the individual goals of education will be ignored. They are important and will continue to be pursued. But emphasis will be laid on the point that individual interests have to be subordinated to the social good and that even the fulfilment of individuals can come only through their cooperative effort to develop the society as a whole.

The priority to be given to the different processes of education will also have to be reordered. The highest emphasis will have to be placed on the inculcation of values (which now gets the lowest priority); the next emphasis will have to be on the development of skills (especially on social and productive skills); and information gathering (which now gets the highest priority) will have to be greatly de-emphasized. Similarly, there will have to be consequential modifications in the underlying basic values of the educational system. For instance, it can no longer rest on the present basis of liberalism, individualism, and competition; and we will have to remodel it squarely on the basis of a deep commitment to social development and cooperation. In the same way, the values of social justice and equality and the ethical concepts of individual autonomy and responsibility, self-restraint and consideration for others will have to receive the highest emphasis. It will also follow that, if these basic changes are accepted, there will have to be corresponding changes in the content of education<sup>5</sup> and in the organisation of the system.

### The New Concept of Quality •

It is obvious that old concepts of 'quality' will need radical modifications in the light of these changes in our concepts of society and education. Quality of education will now have to be measured in terms of its capacity to create the new social order with its emphasis on equality, austerity, abolition of poverty, cooperation, self-restraint, consideration for others, and intensive pursuit of knowledge and excellence. An educated man will have to be judged, not only on the basis of his personal attainments, but even importantly by his social commitments, by the extent to which he has internalised the new value system, and by the contribution he has made to social development.

Quality will also no longer be defined in elitist terms. In fact, in this new milieu of emphasis on the abolition rather than on the continuation of privilege, a common school system would be regarded as providing 'quality' education just as all trends towards segregation would be regarded as undesirable. Similarly, it will not be possible, in this new setup, to define quality narrowly and to identify it with a few categories of excellence (such as verbal or linguistic ability) to suit the vested interests of those in a position to lay down the law. On the other hand, it will now be necessary to define excellence in the widest possible diversity and to give equal status to all the infinite variety of skills that man is capable of. In particular, manual labour and productive work will have to be given the same status as intellectual work. For instance, a farmer or a carpet-weaver who achieves the highest excellence should have the same status as a university professor.

Similarly, the organisation of courses at the different stages of education would also be such as to meet the requirements of this infinite diversity of excellence as well as its inherent equality. At the elementary stage, all children should be brought together in a common school system to receive a common course of general education; and secondary and higher education should be widely diversified to suit the immense plurality of individual aptitudes, needs, and capacities, with adequate bridges between different courses and without any attempt to introduce a hierarchy of relative significance between them. What is even more important, this equality of status given to the different categories of excellence should not remain only a definitional issue in educational theory. It should also be given recognition in terms of social status and economic rewards, i.e., they should be comparable in social status and should have a comparable wage structure. It will thus be obvious that, in this new background of an egalitarian society and an education system geared to social development, quality will cease to be linked to privilege. It will also not be antagonistic either to equality or to quantity but supportive of both.

### Content of Education

Content of education is derived from, and is also closely related

to, the goals of education, its processes, and its underlying values. It varies from stage to stage of education in order to suit the age and maturity of the students, and even at the same stage, from one subject to another. It is, therefore, neither possible nor necessary to discuss this issue in all its details. Our limited purpose would be served if attention is specially drawn to the major modifications needed in the content of education in view of the foregoing changes suggested in its goals, processes, and underlying values.

### **Education and Development**

It is now realised all over the world that it is an error to keep education and development isolated from each other and that the two have to be integrated with one another. We should attempt reconstruction through education and education through reconstruction. This gives a valuable basis for determining the relevance of education; and it is necessary to restructure the curricula at all stages of education with the highest emphasis on relevance so that the motivation of students to learn is intensified and the social returns from education are immediate and worthwhile.

### **New Approaches to Acquisition of Knowledge**

This emphasis on relevance and development will also affect our existing attitudes to the acquisition of knowledge. It was pointed out earlier that the existing educational system was dominated by information-gathering and that, in the new education system, much higher priority would have to be accorded to the two other processes of the development of skill and inculcation of values. This does not mean that we have to reduce the information content of our education system. On the contrary, we do expect even an increase in the information content because knowledge is being doubled in a period of ten years or so and an intensive cultivation of knowledge has become a 'must' for every nation in this highly competitive modern world. There is, therefore, no escape from the necessity for all our people to learn more and more and to reach ever-increasing standards of attainment in the years ahead.

This will be possible if two measures are adopted. The first is to develop programmes of non-formal education in a big way

so that learning is not limited to the formal school and to a part of life only but becomes a life-long process and includes all learning, whether in the school or outside of it. Secondly, even within the formal school system, we will have to learn more intensively through the use of better methods of teaching and learning. The content of almost all courses at all stages will have to be modernised, upgraded where necessary, and diversified. These courses will also have to be closely linked to the immediate environment so that what is learnt becomes relevant, meaningful, and significant. What is even more important, the method of acquisition of knowledge will have to be radically changed. The emphasis will now have to shift from rote memorisation to stimulation of curiosity, development of self-study habits, study of the community around, and problem-solving so that knowledge is acquired through improved motivation, sharpened powers of observation and original thinking, activities and a spirit of adventure. This will make it possible to learn more, to learn more easily and effectively, to retain better what is learned, and, above all, to develop the capacity to use what is learned in solving problems and improving life.

### **Science and Technology**

It is extremely important to emphasize the teaching of science and technology at all stages of education; and particularly to lay special stress on vocationalisation of the secondary stage. These aspects of the problem were very well dealt with by the Education Commission (1964-66) and there is little to add to what it had said on this subject.

### **Work-Experience and Social Service**

Far more difficult and important are the curricular programmes which do not exist at present and which will have to be developed in a big way and on a priority basis. I refer here to the programmes of work-experience and social service which, in a suitable form, should be introduced at all stages and should become an integral part of all education. The case for these programmes was advocated by the Education Commission (1964-66) which also made several potential recommendations for their implementation.

### Political Education

Another component which is sadly lacking in our educational system (which is based on the individualistic approach) and which will have to be greatly emphasized in the new educational system (which will lay the highest emphasis on social development) is political education. It will consist of several distinct elements. The first is to create a proper pride in ourselves as a nation and as a people. This will include a study of our history and our cultural traditions with emphasis on our contribution to world civilisation and our struggle for independence. It should also include a critical study of our failures to create a strong, egalitarian, and prosperous society, social evils such as unequal status to women, caste, or untouchability, and the many unhealthy traditions and superstitions that have crept into our social organisation. This should not be a blind revivalist or chauvinistic approach but one that aims at an understanding of our own unique contribution to civilisation, especially in the spiritual and philosophical fields, and at a realisation that, on their basis, it is possible to build up a unique, egalitarian, and great social order in which poverty would be abolished and the dignity, autonomy, and freedom of each individual to pursue his quest for self-fulfilment could be guaranteed. It should also be based on the realisation that we will have to strive on our own to create the unique new society of our dreams and that it cannot be created by borrowing a model, however good, from outside: such social transplantations are neither desirable nor possible.

Another objective of political education is to give each individual a clear concept of the existing social organisation and processes and of their strengths and weaknesses as well as of the new social organisation and processes which we desire to create. At the international level, every individual should know our world view. At the national level, he should have a good understanding of the manner in which privilege is created and strengthened in our society through property, employment in the organised sector and education. He must be aware of the existing models of production and production relationships and how they tend to concentrate economic power in the hands of a few individuals and to perpetuate poverty. He must also have a clear understanding of our political processes and how political power

tends to get centralised. He must know the major problems facing the country, the alternative solutions for them, and the programmes that have to be developed to create the new social order based on the liquidation of privilege, abolition of poverty, decentralisation of authority in all spheres, and enhancement of individual freedom and autonomy.

Political education will, thus, create an understanding of the varied dimensions of the programme of social development which the education system seeks to promote. This is necessary but not enough; and political education must also strive to inculcate the essential values and to develop the needed competence in each individual to make this development possible. For instance, political education must create a passionate commitment for social development in each individual, for grasping the present sorry scheme of things, and remoulding it nearer to national aspirations. This involves an understanding of the existing social and political processes operating in the country as well as of the need to generate new social and political processes favourable to the new social order, and a willingness to work for and participate in the latter. What is even more important, political education will also necessarily involve a willingness to fight for, to suffer, and even to pay with one's life, for the values and programmes of the new society. It is this awareness of the socio-political-economic issues combined with a commitment to transform the social order that constitutes the essence of political education which then helps in the realisation of the social objectives of the education system and transforms education itself into a powerful tool of social change.

Conceived from this point of view, political education is not the programme of social studies which now merely implies a colourless combination of history, geography, and civics. It cannot also be equated with education for citizenship which now implies merely a study of the Constitution, the five year plans, and the rights and responsibilities of the citizens, or, in short, an education of the individual for the *status quo*. On the other hand, a programme of political education in the context of the present Indian society will mean the creation of a feeling of revulsion and revolt against the inequities and deficiencies of the present system and a commitment to create a new social order at any cost.

Political education as visualised here will not also mean an attempt to use education to spread the ideology of one party or another through the educational system. Instead, it will mean the proper training of every individual with regard to the basic issues involved in the transformation of the present society (which is sick and becoming sicker) so that he will be able to evaluate properly the ideology and programmes offered by different political parties and shall not be a victim of their narrow machinations. It will be organised at different levels in a form suited to the age and maturity of the educands. It will be an integral part of education at the elementary and secondary stages.

A compulsory course in political education should be provided to all undergraduate students irrespective of their subjects. It should also form part of non-formal education and be included as an important component in the educational programmes for non-student youth in the age group 15-25 and in adult education.

This bold proposal about political education being an integral component of all education comes directly in conflict with the generally held view that education and politics should be separated from each other. It may be pointed out in this context that it is not desirable to isolate education from politics because both are powerful tools of social transformation and yield the best results if used in a mutually supporting manner. In a sense, it is also impossible to do so because no education is value-neutral and it supports either the *status quo* or some alternative(s) to it. That is why all basic decisions in education relating to its objectives, processes, value systems, content, quality, and coverage are essentially political. Under these circumstances, a theory of making education politically neutral will only imply an indirect but strong support to the *status quo* and a tremendous handicap to all forces of change. There is, therefore, no alternative except to go all the way, and to make political education, which will support the creation of the desired social order, an integral part of education at all stages.

We have had a tradition of keeping education and politics apart. The question did not come to the fore explicitly till the end of the nineteenth century, although the official system of education which was supposed to be politically neutral was

actually going ahead with its basic imperialistic objectives of teaching Indians to lose respect for their own best traditions and spreading European knowledge to create chains of intellectual slavery. But when the nationalist sentiment began to develop, patriotism, which ought to have been a basic value inculcated through the education system, was formally outlawed on the ground that education should not be mixed up with politics. But the same argument did not prevent the British administration from trying to inculcate loyalty to the Crown through education. The Indian nationalist opinion then refused to accept the theory that education and politics should be kept apart. In fact, Gandhiji insisted that all education must have a political content – and established national schools whose ‘standards’ from all the usual points of view were ‘poor’ but which insisted on and succeeded in giving a form of political education to all their students and produced hundreds of good freedom fighters.

Unfortunately, this policy has changed after independence. It began to be argued once more that education should not be mixed with politics, and this view has found support in the circles of the Congress, the party in power, and among academicians who desire to have political support without political interference (which is really asking for a good deal more than a mere insulation of education from politics). But the opposition parties, such as the Congress of the pre-independence period, began to insist that education cannot be isolated from politics and also on their right to work among the students. The Congress, therefore, had also to join in the game, and today the position is that all political parties insist on working among students, although none of them has developed distinct educational policies or given adequate support to education. It must also be pointed out that the political parties do not have in view the provision of political education as described above when they insist on their right to work among students. What they really imply and actually do is to exploit students for narrow party ends at any cost, even at the risk of disrupting the education system itself, and without any regard to the long-term interests of the country, education, or the students themselves.

In the present situation, therefore, only one of the two alternatives seems to be possible: either all parties agree to a



proper code of conduct in working among students or all of them continue their political activities among students for their own narrow ends with no holds barred. Since there is no agreement on the first policy, the second continues to reign supreme, and we have had the worst of all the worlds. There is no proper political education in our educational system so that education remains a weak tool of social development and it becomes impossible to protect students (who remain generally ignorant on all the basic issues) from the wiles of politicians. We have also not succeeded in insulating education from politics; and while we desired full political support without any political interference, what we have actually had is very little of real political support and plenty of political interference with disastrous consequences on the quality and efficiency of the education system. This does not augur well for the future of the country.

### Moral Education

Yet another component of the content of education which needs some attention is the oft-repeated demand for religious or moral education. The demand is so general and persistent that it needs a somewhat detailed examination.

It is true that there is a grave moral crisis in the society at present. But to assume that this crisis can be overcome by the introduction of moral education in schools is naive. While there is only a limited chance that the cultivation of moral values in the school system will rise into society and reform it, there is a far greater probability that the moral crisis in the society will be reflected in the school system and contaminate it. It is really the adults in society or in the school system that set the moral tone and the children and the youth largely imitate it. To expect that the adults can behave as they like and that the children and youth can be reformed, irrespective of how the adults behave, through sermons on religion or ethics is moonshine. The only effective way in which morals can be taught to children or youth is for all adults to restore moral values in their life and society. We must, therefore, resolve the moral crisis in the society directly in the society itself through proper political leadership, improvement in adult behaviour, and social controls, partly to get immediate results and partly to create the necessary atmosphere in which it

would be possible to provide effective moral education in the school system.

This does not imply that we should not think of religious or moral education on its own merits : religious or moral education is obviously needed on a long-term basis even if there were no moral crisis in the society at present. Here, three specific issues need discussion. The first refers to problems involved in providing religious education, especially in government schools. Under Art. 28 of the Constitution, religious education cannot be provided in schools wholly maintained from state funds; but it can be provided in private schools, subject to the traditional 'conscience' clause. There are also tremendous difficulties involved in drawing up a common curriculum, in finding suitable teachers, etc., so that there is a general feeling that it may be desirable to leave out religion altogether and to teach moral education, either by reference, where necessary, to all the religions or without reference to any religion. The latter would probably be the better alternative.

The second issue refers to the content of moral education. The usual practice has been to emphasize the traditional personal virtues in courses of moral education. In modification of this, it may be necessary to design a special programme to suit our needs. For instance, we must insist on emphasizing secular values in a society where different religions are devoutly practised by a large proportion of citizens. From this point of view, we may give an idea of all religions to every child, emphasizing their basic unity.

We may also stress the need, in a plural democratic society such as ours, to confine the practice of religion to one's personal life and to keep our civic life secular or neutral to religion so that one's religion is neither an asset nor a handicap in so far as the rights and responsibilities of a citizen are concerned.

Secondly, it is necessary to emphasize social values which tend to get ignored in our culture. For instance, values such as abstention from conspicuous consumption and willingness to subordinate one's interest to the common good of all need far greater emphasis than what they generally receive.

Thirdly, even in regard to personal virtues, it is essential to emphasize values such as self-restraint, self-reliance, competence, sense of responsibility and duty and willingness to work, and if

necessary even suffer, for a cause which one holds dear, because these are more relevant to the creation of the new social order which is our supreme objective.

Fourthly, it is necessary to emphasize practical action. Moral education is one of those areas where one hears endless declamations on its significance but very little is done to work out details or to provide guidance to classroom teachers to design programmes for day-to-day use. Both these aspects of the problem need attention.

Finally, it is also necessary to consider the effective ways in which moral education can be given. Mere sermonising, which is the common technique adopted, will hardly serve the purpose, even if it does not become counterproductive. The best way to give moral education is to enable the children to catch the values indirectly through the school programmes and through the school atmosphere. This is the most important advantage of making social development the chief objective of education. It is through the programmes designed to this end that one can indirectly provide the best moral education.

### Performance of the Educational System

The goals of the educational system, the relative emphasis placed on its different processes, and its content, which we have discussed so far, merely indicate its capacity or 'promise' to help the creation of a new social order. But promise does not mean performance which has to be independently evaluated in terms of standards and efficiency; and our overall evaluation of the quality of an educational system will have to be based not only on its promise but also on its performance.

### Standards

To begin with the standards of education, it may be pointed out that standards or levels of attainment will have to be measured in terms of both the inputs into the system and its outputs. The major inputs are: (i) teachers with special reference to their general education and professional preparation; (ii) curricula and supportive aids such as textbooks or other teaching and learning materials; (iii) methods of teaching and evaluation; (iv) student services and amenities; and (v) physical plant of schools, including buildings, playgrounds, school farms, workshops, or equipment.

In the case of all these inputs, it is possible to lay down criteria to measure standards, although some important inputs such as the sense of professional responsibility and integrity of teachers and their commitment to the welfare of the students entrusted to their charge, which are of crucial significance to quality of education, defy quantification or objective measurement.

The most important outputs are the men and women who come out of the system. The number of such persons and the degrees or distinction they receive (as indicative broadly of their knowledge and skills) can be objectively quantified and measured. But it is not possible to be equally objective in assessing their values and character. Another major output is research in various fields which is capable of being measured both quantitatively and qualitatively. There are, however, many indirect outputs of the education system such as its contribution to vertical mobility or to improvement of the quality of life in general which are not so easy to measure in objective terms.

Deeply concerned as we are with standards of education, we should have collected the relevant data and tried to measure, in so far as this would be objectively possible, the varying standards of these inputs and outputs at different points of time and also in different regions of the country. But this has not been adequately attempted. We do not even collect the data necessary for the purpose, although in several cases it is possible to do so without much cost and effort. Depth studies into the problem are conspicuous by their absence. The Education Commission (1964-66) made some important recommendations on the subject which have remained unattended to. And yet, we are very fond of making personal non-verifiable statements on the subject regarding falling standards of education. In fact, if one were to go on the basis of what one hears on this issue in academic circles, one can easily come to the conclusion that, over the past 30 years or so, we have had a continuous decline of standards. This is hardly a faithful portrayal of the situation; and as the preceding discussion has shown, we have simultaneously progressed in several sectors, stagnated in others, and even regressed in some. It would, therefore, be more correct to say that the overall picture is a mixture of light and shade rather than of unrelieved darkness. What is more important, we will have to admit that standards have not kept pace with the growing needs of the time and that they are neither adequate nor internationally comparable.<sup>6</sup>

### Efficiency

Another measure of the performance of the system is efficiency or the relationship between the potential of the system and its actual performance. Unfortunately, we do not have adequate objective criteria to measure the efficiency of an educational system at any given point of time or to compare it over specific time intervals.

The measures most commonly used are : (i) the results of different public examinations and (ii) wastage (or the percentage of students that drop out before completing a course) and stagnation (or the extra time actually taken by a student to complete a course spread over a specified period). The examination results do show that a very large proportion of students fail in every examination which is a broad indication of the inefficiency of the system. But this measure is not helpful for comparisons over time because the percentage of passes at any given examination tends to be fairly constant. Moreover, even in respect of the students that pass the examination, it is not possible to isolate the contribution of the educational system from such factors as student motivation, home environment, private tuition, or even bazar guides.

Wastage and stagnation provide better indices. But we do not have flow statistics or special studies which can give a better indication of the reality. Data on indicators such as morale of the teachers and students, full utilisation of existing facilities, and administrative or financial efficiency are not available, and when available some of them are not easy to quantify. Under these circumstances, judgements regarding the efficiency of the system can have only a limited objectivity. In spite of these limitations, there can be no hesitation in asserting that the education system is very inefficient and wasteful.

At all stages, the rates of wastage are fairly high, and probably the highest is at the elementary stage. There is a large proportion of failures at every examination; and what is worse, such large proportions of failures seem to be built into the system as an inevitable component. The utilisation of the existing facilities, whether buildings or equipment, is woefully inadequate. The number of days on which the educational institutions work or the limited time for which they function on working days shows that we use our existing facilities for only a small fraction of their total

potential. Most of our courses do not stretch the students to the maximum and many a student is able to pass his annual examinations by a preparation spreading over two or three months. We do not insist on maintenance of standards in individual institutions; and the system seems to have infinite tolerance for incompetence at the institutional level.

The staggering inefficiency of the system is so patent that there is hardly any need to argue out the case in detail; and there is also some evidence to show that even this little efficiency has been going down in recent years due to several factors such as political interference which often results in weakening the morale of the educational administrators and teachers, increase in the size of the system which has almost made it unmanageable, student unrest, and trade unionism among teachers. Consequently, we have not been able to cope with the double task of managing the rapid expansion that is taking place (which is quite a job in itself) side by side with an accent on qualitative improvement (which is an even tougher assignment). What is worse, even the routine day-to-day administration is breaking down in many areas. For instance, very little has been achieved in examination reform. But the negative effects of such failures as the inability to hold examinations and declare results in time (in some cases, the holding of examinations has been in arrears for even two or more years), mass malpractices by students, leakage of question papers, or corruption by teachers have been so great that many of our celebrated external examinations have been almost reduced to a farce.

The incidents of student unrest result in closure of institutions for long periods and their protests against 'stiff' papers or demands for 'grace' marks do not have a healthy effect on standards. Teacher truancy is on the increase at all stages; the education departments are often unable to maintain discipline or to inspect schools for years on end. If these trends are not controlled in time, there is every danger that the entire system may collapse.

### The Significance of Human Efforts

The overall picture in regard to standards and efficiency is, therefore, far from happy. If the quality of education is to be improved, our efforts will have to be concentrated not only on

redesigning the system in terms of goals, processes, value system, and content on the broad lines discussed earlier, but also on improving its performance which has a very important role in the overall improvement of quality in education. The Education Commission (1964-66), therefore, laid great emphasis on the programmes which would help us to improve standards and to raise the efficiency of the system. While recognising that monetary inputs were needed and that public investment in programmes of qualitative improvement would have to be stepped up substantially in the years ahead, the Commission also emphasized the view that in programmes to be developed for the qualitative improvement of education, non-monetary inputs such as careful planning and human effort were of even greater importance and that, without them, no monetary inputs, however large, would have the desired results. The far-reaching recommendations made by the Commission on this subject include :

- i) The organisation of a nationwide programme of educational development which would involve *every* educational institution and *all* human factors connected with it – its teachers, students, and local community;
- ii) the adoption of a system of institutional planning with the object of implementing programmes of qualitative improvement which need human effort rather than additional financial investment (such as reduction in stagnation and wastage, improvement of teaching methods, assistance to retarded students, special attention to gifted students, enrichment of curricula, examination reform, and so on);
- iii) making the educational system elastic and dynamic by providing full encouragement for freedom, initiative, and experimentation on the part of schools and teachers;
- iv) development of selective institutions to optimum levels so that they act as pacesetters and help improve standards all around;
- v) introducing a system of school complexes or of co-operative effort for improvement of standards in which the universities will help the colleges, the colleges will help the secondary schools in their neighbourhood, and the secondary schools will help the elementary schools in their

neighbourhood through extension services, training of personnel, and sharing of facilities;

- vi) full utilisation of all existing facilities of educational institutions in terms of land, buildings, equipment, and personnel; and
- vii) creation of a climate of dedicated and sustained hard work in all educational institutions.<sup>7</sup>

It would be difficult to conceive of a better programme for qualitative improvement, especially in a situation where monetary resources are not adequately available. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to implement these recommendations. The programmes of institutional planning and school complexes have made only a small beginning in some areas. There has, however, been no movement on a nationwide basis to transform and improve the educational system, and it is a matter of regret that a general climate of frustration and cynicism is spreading everywhere. It has also not been possible to provide the needed leadership and to enthuse the teachers and the students. The teachers who are increasingly dominated by trade unionism and economism have not risen to the challenge; and the students have not responded because of the mounting discontent in them on account of rising unemployment and its exploitation for political purposes. How and when the breakthrough will come in this situation is anybody's guess.

#### REFERENCES

1. These are not independent but related : individual development for all is not possible in a badly organised society and no social development is possible unless its individual members are properly educated and committed to social development.
2. Nurullah and Naik, op. cit., pp. 66-78
3. Gokhale welcomed all English education as good because it liberated the Indian mind from the "thralldom of old world ideas".
4. See note on 'National Education' in Nurullah and Naik, op. cit. pp. 298-308.
5. Some of these will be discussed in the following section.
6. See paras 2.43 to 2.45 of the *Report of the Education Commission*.
7. For details of the recommendations, see Appendix II.

### QUANTITY

The problems of equality and quantity are interrelated. Man is distinguished from other animals by his infinite educability; and hence education is as vital for the intellectual, emotional, cultural, and spiritual development of man as food is for his physical survival. The principle of equality, therefore, demands that facilities and opportunities for education should be expanded as largely as possible so that each individual can absorb all the education that suits his needs, capacities, and aspirations. If, for any reason, it becomes impossible to provide all the educational facilities needed, the same principles of equality also demand that every individual should have equal access to all available facilities. All educational systems are, thus, required to answer the following three questions relating to the quantitative aspects of education:

- Who shall be educated?
- When? (i.e., at what stage of their life); and
- How? (i.e., in the formal or non-formal system or in a combination of both).

It is these important problems that we shall discuss in this chapter.

#### The Goals in Expansion of Educational Facilities (1813-1973)

Three main issues are relevant in this evaluation of the quantitative aspects of Indian education: (1) What have been our policies, over the past 160 years, about expansion of educational facilities? (2) What have been the advantages and disadvantages of these policies? and (3) What has been the measure of our success or failure in implementing them?

On the first issue, it may be pointed out that the British administrators generally placed the highest emphasis on quality and followed a restrictive policy in quantity, with little attempt at equality. Since 1921, our emphasis has been, first and foremost, on the expansion of educational facilities which, in our view, leads to equality in the long run. We have generally underemphasized quality and have not hesitated to dilute it, if necessary, to secure rapid expansion. Within this broad framework, our enrolment policies at the different stages of education have been as under:

1. In elementary education, the British administrators emphasized voluntary expansion only. We have accepted the target of providing universal education in the age group 6-14.
2. In secondary and higher education, the British administrators generally adopted a restrictive policy, especially after 1900 when they realised that the spread of this education was leading to the nationalist upsurge. On the other hand, we have placed the highest emphasis on the expansion of secondary and higher education and refused to accept any regulation of enrolments or to introduce selective admissions.
3. The British administrators underemphasized professional and vocational education. Since 1947, we have laid the highest emphasis on the training of high-level scientific manpower and on higher education in agriculture, engineering, and medicine. Vocational education at the school stage, however, still continues to be neglected.
4. The need to make special efforts to spread education among women and the weaker sections of the community such as the Scheduled Castes and Tribes has been accepted; and fairly vigorous efforts have been made to this end since 1921 and especially since 1947.

On the second issue, viz., the correctness or otherwise of these policies, it must be admitted that they have come in for severe criticism on several grounds. One view is that our quantitative goals, even at their best, are conservative and limited. It has been argued, for instance, that universal education in the age group 6-14 is hardly adequate in the highly competitive modern world when the developed societies have made not only elementary but even secondary education universal, are spreading higher education rapidly, and have already begun to talk of making even post-secondary education universal or of providing lifelong education for all. It has, therefore, been suggested that we should provide, by the end of the century, universal education for ten years (Classes I-X) at least. Another criticism relates to pre-school education whose significance is now being increasingly recognised and, consequently, there is a growing demand for its development on an adequate scale. Similar criticism is levelled

against our continued neglect of vocational education at the school stage. But, above all, the neglect of adult and non-formal education (and especially of the education of workers) has come in for severe adverse comments; and it has been suggested that we should have stressed them and tried to create an educational system which would:

- enable those who have not completed a stage of education to complete it and, if they wish, to proceed to the next;
- help every educated person to have further education with or without formally enrolling himself in an educational institution;
- enable a worker to acquire knowledge, ability, and vocational skill in order to be a better worker and to improve his chances of earning more; and
- help to refresh the knowledge of the educated person and enable him to keep pace with the new knowledge in the field of his interest.

Programmes of this type, it is said, “smoothen the transition from school to life, reduce the cost of education to the State, and bring under the influence of the educational system a large number of persons who desire to educate themselves but cannot do so on economic grounds.”<sup>8</sup>

#### **Expansion of Educational Facilities (1813-1973)**

In spite of all the emphasis we have placed on quantity in the past 54 years, it is a matter for regret that we have not been able to achieve even these limited goals.\*

In this context, it will be interesting to examine the statistics of educational institutions and enrolments covering the past 120 years given in Appendix IV. For convenience, this period has been divided into five sub-periods, each of which shows an accelerating tempo of expansion. Very little expansion was achieved in the first phase (1813-1955) because most of this early period was spent in controversies over the goals, methods, content, and organisation of the new education system. All these were finally decided by the Wood’s Education Despatch (1854) and real expansion started with the creation of the education departments (1855) and the establishment of universities (1857). The second phase (1855-1901)

saw steady growth of education at all stages, especially because of the liberal recommendations of the Indian Education Commission (1882). The third phase (1901-1921) was one of good public awakening due to the struggle for freedom. This led to considerable expansion, although the government tried its best, for political reasons, to restrict the spread of secondary and higher education. The fourth phase (1921-1947) is significant, partly for the transfer of education to limited Indian control and partly for the greater public awakening due to the intensification of the fight for political freedom. Consequently, it shows a more rapid expansion than in the earlier phase. The fifth phase (1947-1974) has naturally witnessed unprecedented and phenomenal growth because the spread of education now received full support from the government and there was also a very great awakening among the public.

If one compares the situation in 1855-56 with that in 1973-74, one finds an expansion of a fantastic order. Even a comparison of the present situation with that in 1921 or even in 1947 leads almost to the same conclusion, and one realises the great advances we have made in the past, and especially in the post-independence period. But if one were to compare the present situation with even our present goals (to say nothing of the targets we ought to have kept before ourselves and reached), one finds that we still have ‘miles to go’ before we can heave a sigh of satisfaction. This is true, not only of education as a whole, but also of most of its sectors. In three of them, viz., (i) elementary education, (ii) secondary and higher education, and (iii) professional and vocational education, there have been considerable gains as well as losses. There have been very significant achievements in two sectors, viz, (i) education of women and (ii) education of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, although the tasks not done are still vast. Three other important sectors, viz. (i) pre-school education, (ii) adult education, and (iii) non-formal education, still continue to be sadly neglected.

#### **Sectors in which there have been Considerable Gains as well as Losses**

As stated earlier, three important sectors fall within this category.

1. *Elementary Education*: It was pointed out in Chapter 1 that the British administration had no plans for mass education

and refused even to accept the concept of compulsory education. It did, however, strive to spread elementary education among the people on a voluntary basis. Between 1855 and 1871, local cesses were levied on land revenue, one of the most important tax sources of the government at the time, and they were partly utilised to help the spread of elementary education. The emphasis on this stage increased further with the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission (1882) and especially with the new policy Curzon initiated in 1904 and the special Central grants sanctioned for the purpose. But, in spite of all these efforts, the actual achievements were comparatively very limited. In 1921, the total enrolments at the primary and middle school stages were only 6.9 million (or 18.6 per cent of the age group 6-11) and only 435,000 (or 2.2 per cent of the age group 11-14) respectively.

Indian nationalist opinion, however, was committed to provide universal elementary education to every child. More vigorous steps began, therefore, to be taken, after 1921, for the expansion of educational facilities at this stage. But for various reasons, only limited results were achieved till 1947, when only one child out of three in the age group 6-11 and only one out of the 11 in the age group 11-14 had been enrolled. During the past 28 years, the progress has been extremely rapid and our enrolments have now reached 64 million (or 86 per cent in the age group 6-11) and 15 million (or 36 per cent in the age group 11-14). While the expansion of facilities actually achieved is indeed commendable, we are obviously still far from the goal of universal education laid down in the Constitution.

2. *Secondary and Higher Education:* In the early years the British administrators placed great emphasis on secondary education because its object was to teach the English language and on higher education because it was a vehicle for the spread of European knowledge. In the early years (1813-1854), the spread of secondary and higher education was mainly done by the missionaries through their private institutions and by the government through its own schools. The emphasis was, however, increasingly shifted to the latter after the creation of the state education

departments in 1855. The Indian Education Commission (1882) reversed this policy and suggested that the direct enterprise of government in secondary and higher education should be restricted to the maintenance of a few institutions (which would serve as models) and that Indian private enterprise should be liberally encouraged to spread secondary and higher education. This gave a tremendous boost to the spread of secondary and higher education because the new emerging classes saw the advantages of this education and spared no efforts to provide themselves with it.

By 1900, the government had been disillusioned and realised that the new classes which were being created by secondary and higher education did not and would not remain loyal and grateful and that they were likely to create a national upsurge which might end the British rule. Curzon, therefore, initiated a new policy of controlling the expansion of secondary and higher education through the prescription and enforcement of strict conditions of recognition and affiliation, strengthening of the education departments, and the reform of the universities. But the tiger had already tasted blood and in spite of all the attempts at control (which only helped to improve standards), Indian private enterprise continued to expand secondary and higher education at a rate which was even faster than that in the earlier period.

During the past 54 years, and especially since 1947, we have placed the highest emphasis on the spread of secondary and higher education, refused to accept selective admissions or any curbs on enrolments, and allowed free expansion on the basis of open-door access, in both government and private institutions. Consequently, the most rapid expansion in our educational history has taken place during this period in secondary and higher education.<sup>9</sup> It has had several advantages and, at the same time, created difficult problems of student unrest, fall in standards, and educated unemployment. The causes of this expansion, its consequences, and the methods of controlling it adequately in the years ahead have already been discussed in Chapter 1.

3. *Professional and Vocational Education:* Under the British administration, professional and vocational education was, by and large, geared to the day-to-day needs of the administration or to the demands of the empire. Medical, engineering, and veterinary education began out of the needs of the army and was later expanded for the needs of the civil administration as well. Legal education had to be organised as an adjunct to the new legal system introduced in the country while agricultural education arose out of the imperial need to boost up the production of raw materials in India. But the scale of the overall effort was limited, and it may be said that the British administrators paid the least attention to the development of professional, technical, and vocational education at the school and university stages.

The Indian view of professional and vocational education was, however, entirely different: it attached the greatest significance to the development of industry and to the promotion of technical and vocational education. Law, medicine, and teaching became important professions and hence education for them was also emphasized. Very little could, however, be achieved till 1947. On the attainment of independence, very high priority was given to the training of scientific manpower and to the development of professional and vocational education, particularly in agriculture, engineering, and medicine. The results obtained at the university stage have been outstanding. Our stock of highly trained scientific manpower (excluding engineers and technologists) which is estimated at 1.8 million (1971 census) is the third largest in the world. We have now 19 agricultural universities, about 100 agricultural colleges, and a stock of high-level manpower of about 61,000 (1971 census). There are now 5 IITs, 137 engineering colleges, and 290 polytechnics. The admission capacity for the engineering diploma is 50,000 and that for the degree is 25,000. Our stock of degree-holding engineers is estimated at 185,000 and that of diploma-holders at 244,000 (1971 census). There are now nearly 100 medical colleges with an admission capacity of 12,500 (as against

15 colleges with an admission capacity of 1,200 in 1947), and our stock of doctors is estimated at 138,000 (1971 census). Unfortunately, however, vocational education at the school stage has not made satisfactory progress.

### **Sectors where we have made very Great Progress although We still have a Long Way to go**

One of the outstanding developments in modern Indian education, from the point of view of equality as well as of quantity is the spread of education among women and among the weaker sections such as the scheduled castes and tribes. Although the work still to be done in these sectors is very vast, we have also every right to be proud of our achievements.

1. *The education of women* began, as may be anticipated, at the primary stage. Expansion at the secondary stage was slow to start and slow to spread, partly because it was more difficult to establish the need for teaching English to girls and partly because the age of marriage had to rise considerably to make this possible. Higher education of women began even later, and the first two girls became graduates of the Calcutta University in 1883. It may also be pointed out that the spread of education among girls and women began first in the urban areas and among the middle and the upper classes. It was slow to spread to rural areas and to the lower classes as well as to the well-to-do classes which had strong traditional resistance for sending girls to schools. Similarly, it was general education that advanced first. Girls entered vocational courses only slowly, the most popular openings being those in education and medicine. By 1921, the percentage of literacy among women had increased only to 1.8 per cent and their enrolments at all stages (except elementary) were unimpressive.

The spread of education among girls and women has received a great fillip since 1921, mainly because of the public awakening created by the struggle for freedom and the participation of women in it. But even greater impetus was given to it after the attainment of independence so that



the expansion of the education of girls and women between 1921 and 1974 has been unprecedented and phenomenal.<sup>10</sup> On the other side of the picture, it may be pointed out that the enrolment of girls is still much less than what one would like to have and that the gap between it and the enrolment of boys is still wide at all stages and increases as one goes up the educational ladder because the rate of dropout among girls is much higher than that among boys. We cannot also ignore the fact that the largest beneficiaries of all this expansion are again the well-to-do classes and that the women from the poorer social groups have received little benefit from this programme so far.

2. *The Education of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes* did not make much progress till 1921. The first great fillip to the programme was given by Mahatma Gandhi who launched a nationwide intensive movement for the abolition of untouchability and also for improving the condition of the scheduled castes and tribes. It was because of his leadership that the nation became committed to spread education among these deprived social groups. Major steps in these directions were taken by the Congress governments which first came to power in 1937; and the programme was developed in a fairly big way after the attainment of independence. It must also be emphasized that the programme receives considerable support because of the decision to reserve posts under the government and seats in all legislatures for the scheduled castes and tribes.

If one were to take into consideration the present enrolments of scheduled castes and tribes at all stages of education, whether in absolute figures or as a percentage of the population, it becomes at once evident that there is an immense improvement over the situation in 1921 or even in 1947. But there is also no doubt that the scheduled castes and tribes have still a very long way to go to level up with the other communities.

#### Sectors which still Continue to be Sadly Neglected

A few words may also be said about important sectors of education that continue to be sadly neglected even to this day.

1. The first is *pre-school education*, interest in which began to grow after 1921, and especially after 1947. A large number of pre-schools have since come to be established in all parts of the country. The bulk of these are, however, in the urban areas. Most of them are private and fee-supported and cater to the needs of the well-to-do educated families who have come to appreciate the advantages of pre-school education. Some teach through the English medium and charge fantastic fees. Since the First Plan, the government has started a number of Balwadis in the rural areas (and also for the urban poor) under the Central Social Welfare Board and the Community Development Programme. These are free and meet the needs of the deprived social groups. But, unfortunately, their number is very small in comparison with the needs. It has been estimated that, at present, the total number of children attending all categories of preschools is about one million or two per cent of the total population of the age group 3-5.<sup>11</sup>
2. The second is the programme of adult education, including the *liquidation of adult illiteracy*. This has not received the priority it deserves, either under British administration or after the transfer of education to Indian control or even after independence. We make less than a million adults literate every year and the expenditure on adult education is less than one per cent of the total educational expenditure. The percentage of literacy in the age group above 14 years where every one ought to be literate was only 33 (1971 census).<sup>12</sup> As the growth of literacy is not even keeping pace with the growth of population, the number of adult illiterates is increasing every year. There is also no worthwhile programme of adult education as such which would involve the people as a whole creatively in programmes of national development.
3. *Non-formal education* is yet another sector which continues to be sadly neglected although a few programmes have been taken up after the attainment of independence. The agricultural extension services which strive to upgrade the skills of the practising agriculturists or the family planning programme are two important instances of large-scale

programmes of this type. There is also a limited programme for the education of workers in the organised sector. The radio and the film have become very common, although the first is not used as fully for educational purposes as it could be and the second is more used for mis-education or option than for education or conscientisation. The TV is just coming in but the possibilities of its use for worthwhile non-formal education of the masses do not seem to be bright. The press and the libraries have developed as important agencies of education; but they still have a limited effectiveness because of mass illiteracy.

While the limited gains arising from the increased use of mass media or the implementation of development programmes in agriculture or health are important, they do not at all compensate for the greatest weakness of the system, viz., the failure to develop a massive programme of non-formal education for adults and non-student youth in the age group 15-25 based on literacy, numeracy, techniracy, upgrading of vocational skills, involvement in developmental programmes, and good political education.

It would be evident from the foregoing discussion that even in respect of the quantitative expansion of education – and this is an aspect of education on which we have laid the highest emphasis and in which we have made the most rapid progress – we still have a very long way to go by any standards and have not realised even the limited goals we have set before ourselves. We have achieved good results in the expansion of general secondary and higher education in the training of high-level scientific manpower, in the development of professional education in agriculture, education, engineering, law, and medicine, and in promoting education of women and scheduled castes and tribes. On the other hand, our failures are far too glaring. The illiteracy of the masses is a national disgrace and the absence of effective programmes of adult education is the biggest handicap to progress.

The importance of the pre-school stage is now recognised all over the world. But in this sector we have made very little progress and our services reach only two per cent of the age

group. We have not yet been able to provide universal education to all children in the age group 6-14 as required by the Constitution. All the emphasis we placed on secondary and higher education during the past 54 years has resulted in the provision of post-elementary education to only about 10 per cent of the youth in the age group 15-25. Most of the remaining 90 per cent of the young persons have hardly any access to education. In fact, it appears that we have fallen between almost all stools.

The concentration of effort on the expansion of secondary and higher education on the basis of open-door admissions has created difficult problems of educated unemployment and adversely affected quality. Quality has also been adversely affected at other stages as well because our emphasis on expansion often goes hand in hand with dilution of standards. The pursuit of equality has also been adversely affected by the neglect of the programmes of mass education as well as by the overemphasis on secondary and higher education. After all these losses, we also find that quantity – the basic goal for which all those sacrifices were made – has also been largely unrealised. What is even worse, we will not be able to maintain even the present rates of expansion. We are already spending about Rs. 16,000 million on education (which is next only to the expenditure on defence) and we are unable to find large additional resources because of the difficult economic situation and the demands from other competing sectors such as agriculture, irrigation, power, industry, or family planning. Meanwhile, the cost per student has also increased considerably. The earlier rates of expansion have, therefore, been cut down and we find ourselves in the unenviable position of a traveller who discovers that, even when he is less than halfway to his distant destination, his purse has been stolen and his car has developed serious engine trouble. It may, therefore, take us years to realise even the existing limited goals; and there is just no question of setting up wider goals for expansion of educational facilities (e.g., provision of lifelong education) for which the developed nations are now preparing themselves.

### **The Basic Cause of the Failure: The Traditional System of Formal Education**

Why is it that our efforts at quantitative expansion of educational

facilities have failed so miserably? Part of the failure is, of course, due to the wrong policies and priorities we adopted : we did not, for instance, give adequate priority to programmes of adult education, of universalising elementary education, or of vocationalising secondary education, and we were also not justified in according the highest priority to the free expansion of general, secondary, and higher education on an open-door basis of admissions. But the largest part of our failure is due to the wrong model of the education system we adopted, viz., the traditional formal system of single-point entry, sequential annual promotions from class to class, and full-time instruction by full-time professional teachers. It was shown in Chapter 1 (and Appendix I) that it has prevented us from providing universal elementary education for all children in the age group 6-14. It is also easy to see that so long as we continue to rely almost exclusively on this model, all workers – whether children, youth, or adults – will continue to remain outside its scope. The model also misfires for financial reasons. The cost per student is necessarily high in this model which assumes that education will be provided almost exclusively by full-time professional teachers. As time passes, teachers demand and get higher remuneration. On grounds of quality, they demand smaller classes or lower pupil-teacher ratio and generally manage to get them. The other costs of education also tend to increase, partly because of inflation and partly because of a continuous sophistication which is built into the system. Consequently, the cost per student always continues to escalate in a system of this type; and a stage has now been reached when even the most affluent countries are convinced that they will not be able to provide adequate education to the people unless they abandon their exclusive dependence on the formal system of education. The conclusion becomes inescapable in all poor and developing countries.

There are also several other reasons for which enlightened public opinion all the world over is now entirely opposed to the exclusive dominance of the traditional system of formal education. For instance, it has been well established that the system is more in favour of the *status quo* than social change, that existing vested interests always exploit it to strengthen and perpetuate their own privileged position, and that it encourages

conformity rather than promote healthy dissent. The system is, therefore, extremely unsuitable for a country like India which desires to change its traditional and inegalitarian social order.

What is even more important, several basic assumptions of this system are now being challenged on sound academic considerations and especially because they have become obsolete in view of the fact that a knowledge explosion is taking place in the world, and that societies are changing kaleidoscopically in consequence. These developments obviously imply that one of the major objectives of the education system should now be to give *every* individual *continuing* access to the *growing* knowledge in the world and to enable him adjust himself to the rapidly changing society around him or, in other words, to create a system of lifelong education for all. This is now becoming the goal, in quantitative educational terms, of all progressive societies, and a little reflection will show that it is incompatible with the continuance of the traditional system of formal education.

It may be pointed out, for instance, that the traditional system of formal education with its single-point entry (which necessarily implies that once you step off the system, it is not easy to come back to it) has been organised on the assumption that the education of an individual is a one-shot affair meant for his childhood and youth. This is wrong in principle because it divides life into two main watertight periods of (i) all education and no work and (ii) no education and all work. It is also counter-productive because it requires that the phenomenon of exploding knowledge should be met by lengthening the duration of full-time schooling. This never works because there are severe financial and practical limits to the extent to which the period full-time schooling can be extended for all persons. If every individual is to be given full access to the growing knowledge in the world and enabled to adjust himself to the rapid social changes taking place around him, there is no alternative but to abandon this concept of education as a one-shot affair, and to look upon it as a process which should continue throughout one's life.

Another assumption of the traditional system of formal education which conflicts with the concept of lifelong education is that there is a dichotomy between education and work so that one must do either one or the other, but not both. This is wrong

in theory and harmful in practice. Work and education are not irreconcilable opposites. Work is a vehicle for education and education is a tool for improving the efficiency and joy of work. They are, therefore, complementary and may even be regarded as the two sides of the same coin. In a well organised society, both of them should continue to influence one's life from the beginning to the end; and we must deliberately include an element of work-experience in the education one receives in infancy, childhood, and youth just as, throughout adulthood, we must deliberately plan for an element of education to be blended with work in a suitable fashion.

Yet another assumption of the traditional system of formal education which is also at variance with the wider concept of lifelong education is that it recognises only full-time education and ignores the two alternative channels of part-time education and private study or own-time education. This excludes all workers from the system; and that is why the Education Commission (1964-66) recommended that these two alternative channels should be developed on a large scale at every stage and in every sector of education and that they should be given the same status as full-time education. Unless this is done, it will not be possible to emphasize the education of workers or adult and continuing education which has assumed the highest significance in contemporary societies.

The traditional formal system of education also emphasizes teaching (which means helping someone else learn) rather than learning (which means self-education). It must be remembered that the most valuable gift of man is his capacity to learn by himself or through interaction with nature and society. It is this which enables him to know himself, to understand his environment, to interact properly with other human beings, and to exercise his rights or to discharge his responsibilities as a member of the society – local, national, or international. The learning process is also continuous from birth to death as the individual is continually influenced by all that he does and by all that impinges on his consciousness. In fact, learning is a continuous by-product of living itself. Learning is also an exclusively personalised activity in the sense that every individual has to learn by himself. All that other agencies, tools, and

individuals can do is to assist him learn, directly or indirectly. But the quantum, kind, and quality of learning depends essentially on the individual himself and on his abilities and efforts, rather than on education or the external interventions whose objective is to help him learn. It is unfortunate that these external interventions tend to be overemphasized at present, partly because the objective of the consumption-oriented society is to convert an individual into a consumer of goods and services and partly because of the professional vested interests of teachers. But in the new society with its devaluation of mere consumption and its emphasis on individual autonomy, freedom, and self-reliance, this unfortunately trend will have to be corrected, and it is learning that will have to be given its due emphasis. This necessarily implies radical changes in the formal education system which emphasizes teaching.

The traditional system of formal education is also based on the assumption that learning is essentially a 'school' process or that it takes place in the school only. This is not factually correct. Learning takes place everywhere in society, and, in fact, the learning which occurs outside the school is quantitatively much larger and often far more significant. Learning is essentially a 'social' rather than a school process. It, therefore, follows that, while the formal school has a useful role to play in education, a properly organised educational system must take into account all learning that takes place outside the school and coordinate it with the school programmes.

Linked up with this is another erroneous assumption of the formal system which depends exclusively upon professional teachers to impart education, viz., that education is *not* a direct responsibility of society and that the society can discharge its responsibility for education by delegating the work to professional teachers. It is true that professional teachers are needed and they have a role to play. But extreme professionalisation where teachers get a monopoly of teaching is undesirable for several reasons. To begin with, professionalisation makes education costlier (and, therefore, rarer) so that, in trying to provide education for all, we inevitably end by denying the right to learn to large groups of individuals or at least discriminate against the right of large social groups to learn.

Secondly, professionalisation polarises the dichotomy between teachers and students so that teachers cease to be students and students do not get an opportunity to teach. What is needed is a system in which this polarisation disappears and teachers become senior students (who also teach) and students become junior teachers (who also learn). Thirdly, extreme professionalisation implies that the immense teaching resources available in the community remain unused: a proper utilisation of these resources will lead both to economy and to increased effectiveness. Finally, it needs to be emphasised that teaching is only a different and a better method of learning and that every individual can and should contribute to the total process of learning by personal participation as a teacher. It is thus highly desirable that the education (teaching or learning) process should cease to be the responsibility of a few paid professionals: it should be a direct social process in which every individual should be involved both as a learner and as a teacher, on a part-time or a full-time basis according to the needs of the situation.<sup>13</sup>

The foregoing discussion leads to two major conclusions. The first is that the quantitative educational goals which we have now adopted are conservative and limited and that they need to be widened to meet the requirements of modern societies. Secondly, it is also obvious that the traditional system of formal education has so many inherent weaknesses that it cannot deliver the goods in regard to even the conservative and limited goals we have adopted at present, to say nothing of the wider and more progressive goals we ought to set up in the future. We must, therefore, simultaneously try to create a new educational system which will be in keeping with the new society we desire to create and the new educational goals we desire to adopt.

### The New Goal: A Learning Society

What is the new goal, in quantitative educational terms, which a modern society can set before itself? It may briefly be described as the creation of a *learning society* in which every individual will learn as well as teach throughout his life. In such a society opportunities and facilities for learning will be made abundantly available and easily accessible to all individuals; the minimum

needs of existence will be assured to each individual so that he has adequate leisure to pursue the higher goals of life such as learning; the motivation of individuals to learn will be kept alive through social development and involvement of every one in the development process; and every individual would be trained to engage himself in learning something or the other throughout his life and also in teaching or sharing with others whatever he has learned. It is only such a society that can meet the challenge of the modern world in which knowledge is exploding and kaleidoscopic social changes are taking place. The learning society would thus be far ahead of the contemporary societies in which, in spite of all the progress made, large groups of people still suffer from severe limitations on their right to learn.

The goal of lifelong learning, it may be pointed out, is not new: it has been laid down as a supreme value in several ancient societies and in every age and country, but has been actually attained only by a few. But the novelty of the present concept is that it raises the issue from the individual to the social level. We expect life-long learning to be practised by all. This involves several radical changes which show that, in adopting this goal, we are not going back to the past, but far ahead into the future. For instance, in ancient India, a Brahmin was defined as a person who continued to study throughout his life and who also engaged himself continually in teaching what he had learnt.<sup>14</sup> In the modern societies, we will need two major changes in these ideas. The first is that this goal, which was visualised in the past at the level of an individual and practised by only a few, should now be visualised at the level of the society and practised by all individuals.

Secondly, the Brahmin of the past did not work or produce wealth: he left that task to the Shudras who worked but did not learn. With our emphasis on equality, we cannot accept a society in which some will work and others will lead a parasitic life, or that only a few will be Brahmins and the rest will be Shudras. In the new society we look forward to, therefore, every one must be a worker and a Brahman – he must be a producer, continue to learn all through his life, and teach others what he has learned. It is the learning society which creates this opportunity for each one of its members.

### The Right to Learn

The learning society which we desire to create, therefore, assumes that every individual shall have, and shall be able to effectively exercise, the right to learn throughout his life.

It needs to be noted that this right to learn has both positive and negative aspects. In a learning society, the state must take the following steps to support the right of every individual to learn:

1. to provide every individual with that minimum of education which will awaken his curiosity, build up his self-study habits, and enable him to be a lifelong student;
2. to create such social conditions that every individual shall be effectively motivated to keep learning;
3. to provide the necessary infrastructure and individual support so that every individual will be able to exercise this right as widely as possible at all periods of his life and that, in so doing, he will have an equality of opportunity with every one else.

Similarly, the state will have to take the necessary steps to ensure that the right of every individual to learn is not adversely affected either by social action (or failure) or by actions of other individuals. Strange as it may seem, there are several instances where the right to learn is denied because the right to education is provided under certain conditions which are discriminatory. For instance, in the present system of formal elementary education which we have evolved and where children must attend on a full-time basis, the children from the poor families who are compelled to work at home or outside of it and cannot attend schools on a whole-time basis are literally denied the right to learn. A similar discrimination is practised when the *right to qualify* is restricted only to full-time students in the formal system. For instance, in a system where admissions to the university are made on the basis of selection and private candidates are not allowed to appear for entrance examinations, the right to learn is denied to those who are not fortunate enough to get admitted to the formal system for no fault of theirs. Yet another form of discrimination is when an individual who learns on his own is not given the same status as another who has studied in the formal system in spite of the fact

that his performance may actually be equal or even superior to that of the other. We must ban all such discriminations against the individual's right to learn.

### The New Education System

It will not be possible to guarantee the right to learn throughout his life to every individual unless we create a new educational system which will be an integrated blend of the formal and the non-formal sectors. The proposal that the non-formal sector (which has been neglected in the past) should now be adequately emphasized to counteract the inherent weaknesses and contradictions of the formal education system finds ready acceptance. But the implementation of the reform is often attempted on wrong lines. For instance, an attempt is often made to superimpose non-formal education on the system of formal education (which remains unchanged) so that the two continue to exist side by side. Perhaps a rich country can afford to have the resources for such a double programme. But in poor countries, all that happens is that non-formal education gets a small allocation after the needs of formal education have been met, and fails to make any dent on the situation. In some cases, even non-formal education gets as rigid and bureaucratic as the formal system of education itself with all its emphasis on professionalisation so that we do not get the best results from it.

Perhaps the greatest difficulties are encountered when non-formal education is to be given a status equal to that of formal education or the products of the non-formal system are to be given an equality of economic or job opportunity. While one welcomes the rekindled interest in non-formal education, one does not at all feel happy about the utility of running formal and non-formal education as separate concurrent streams (which run parallel and criss-cross with each other only occasionally) without making an attempt to solve the basic issues involved.

What is needed in fact is to break away from the rigidity of the traditional formal system of education and to organise a new, elastic, and dynamic system of education which will meet the needs of a learning society. A mere negative step such as 'de-schooling' or even positive steps such as a transformation limited

to the formal education system or the simultaneous development of a large-scale but separate non-formal sector will not be able to confer the right to learn on every individual or to make lifelong learning possible for all. We must really organise a new education system in which the formal and the non-formal elements will be blended in an appropriate fashion. This system should provide a certain minimum general education to every individual which will introduce him to the great cultural traditions and acquisitions of knowledge which mankind has made and build up sufficiently strong and deep-rooted self-study habits so that he becomes a lifelong student. Beyond this level of general education, the system should provide a large infrastructure which will provide ample opportunities to every individual to exercise his right to learn throughout his life. Both the programmes of the minimum general education for all and the voluntary education beyond it must be based on an integrated blend of formal and non-formal sectors and use all available community resources.

#### A Historical and International Perspective

The significance of the main proposal made here, viz., the creation of a new system which will be an integrated blend of the formal and non-formal sectors, can be realised in all its aspects, if we examine them in the international and the historical perspectives.

The answers given to the three basic questions posed at the beginning of this chapter – who shall be educated, when, and how – have varied from time to time and from society to society, depending upon the stage of its development (primitive, feudal, or modern industrial), the extent and level of specialisation, the total quantum of knowledge available and its rate of growth, the nature of the education system (i.e., formal or non-formal), and its basic value premises (egalitarian or hierarchical).

In the primitive tribal societies which were, by and large, egalitarian, 'formal' education, as we now know it, was unknown and the only education which an individual received was 'non-formal' which took place in one's communion with nature, at home, in society, or at the workplace. In such societies, education (which means any activity which helps an individual learn) began in the home where the adult members took upon themselves the

responsibility to socialise the child and under whose guidance, he learned some of the most important and basic things in life. A little later, when he began to participate in the wider milieu outside the home, society took a hand in the game and began to influence the learning of the individual in a variety of ways through its institutions, processes, and activities. Every individual, thus received, through the joint efforts of the home and the society, all the education necessary to enable him to play his assigned role as a member of the community. What was even more important, these societies expected every individual to become a teacher also and gave him an opportunity to teach what he knew. For instance, every daughter learned the homecraft from her mother and taught it to her daughter; every father taught his skills to his son who, in his turn, passed them on to his children: and so on. It was, thus, a system of simple but lifelong non-formal education in which every individual functioned both as a student and as a teacher. Its main weakness was the lack of specialisation which resulted in a very limited total stock of knowledge which grew at a snail's pace. This inevitably led to social stagnation as well.

The situation, however, changed considerably when the social organisation became more complex, the total stock of knowledge as well as its rate of growth increased, the need for specialisation began to be felt, and, inevitably, the societies also began to be hierarchical and stratified. It was at this stage of development that societies began to organise 'formal' systems of education for certain categories of knowledge with *full-time* students and *full-time* professional teachers. By its very definition, this system was not universal but restrictive in character so that questions relating to the coverage of the formal system of education – who shall be educated therein and how long – began to assume some significance. But for reasons already discussed, they did not assume any major significance.<sup>15</sup>

This process which began in the ancient period and grew slowly in the mediaeval period, has now reached its highest point as it were in the industrialised societies of the modern period. In the contemporary societies, specialisation and the total stock of knowledge, which mutually support each other, is growing at a fantastic pace. Social life has also become increasingly based on knowledge so that preservation and dissemination of knowledge,

its use in solving social problems, and the acquisition of new knowledge become social tasks of the highest significance. These societies have, therefore, deliberately created huge formal systems of education and invested immense resources in them. They have also created, for these systems, very large cadres of trained specialists who have now become a privileged and significant group because of their size and scale of remuneration. As the privileges attached to the students of the system begin to grow and the concepts of equality begin to spread, the pressures for expanding the system also increase. Consequently, the education systems of the highly industrialised societies have now become enormous and extremely complex.

The formal educational system is, thus, a concomitant of industrial development with all its emphasis on growth of knowledge, specialisations, and professionalisation which helped the system to grow by leaps and bounds. The process was also helped by the fact that industrialisation created, on the one hand, millions of children and youth who could not be employed in its complex production processes (and hence could be sent to schools on a whole-time basis) and, on the other, the immense financial and human resources which the system needed. Just as the two decades following the Second World War (1945-1965) were the most favourable for industrial development, they can also be described as the golden age of the formal education systems. During this period, the developed countries showed an unreserved and boundless faith in the formal school system, so that the popular demand for its expansion grew at a terrific speed. Those who had never been to school began to enter its portals in large numbers and those that entered tried to stay a little longer. There was, thus, a virtual explosion of enrolments in schools at all stages.

The educational process also became more sophisticated and complex so that there was a continuous increase in the cost per student, both recurring and capital. The national governments, as convinced of the value of the school system as the people themselves, invested large amounts in its expansion and improvement on a priority basis (the rise in educational expenditures in most countries was twice the growth of GNP or even more), and not only met the social demand for schooling but

also took active measures to fan the demand itself. The teaching community, the priest-classes of this new religion and its principal beneficiary, helped to maintain and to continually deepen the public faith in the school system through 'research' which conclusively established its beneficial results and justified all the sacrifices made for it in the name of human resource development. If any weaknesses in the system were noticed – they were so glaring that few could fail to notice them – the same 'research' could establish equally conclusively that the only cure to the obvious ills of the system was to provide more schooling; and if that was not enough, all that was needed was to inject a stronger and stiffer dose of better schooling. The net result of all these developments was to make the public education system – a state-owned industry – the largest and the most prosperous public enterprise of the modern world.

The developing countries readily caught the same fever, especially because they believed that modernisation, industrialisation, and wealth of the developed countries (the attributes they most desired to imitate) were the direct consequence of their education systems (rather than the other way round) and imported these models in the belief that they had only to Westernise their educational systems to modernise their society and to become industrialised and rich. Both this belief and their efforts to act thereon received tremendous support through organisations such as the UNESCO, through international aid, and through the large and continuous stream of experts who flew in and out from the developing countries. The unprecedented growth of the public education systems during these two decades, thus, became a truly global phenomenon.

The going was too good to have lasted long; and disenchantment started about a decade ago. Characteristically enough, it was the developed countries themselves (whose educational systems were, on the whole, bigger, healthier, and more efficient) that were the first to raise the alarm that all was not well with the expansion of the public education system and that its basic assumptions and structures needed a radical re-examination. This alarm was slow to spread to the developing countries in spite of the fact that the adoption of the Western model had proved to be dysfunctional in them. The economies of



these poor countries were being unduly strained by increased educational expenditure, necessitated by the imported model, which deprived more important sectors of essential funds; and yet they could neither provide adequate educational facilities nor improve standards to satisfactory levels. Large proportions of their populations could not enter schools; a substantial proportion of those who did enter became dropouts, increasing the ranks of the social outcasts; and a new social class also came into existence, the ever-increasing number of frustrated jobless secondary school and university graduates who tended to intensify social disorganisation and unrest. But the alarm did reach them, though belatedly; and now, even in the developing countries, there is an explosion of critical reflection on the nature, purpose, and structure of education. The disenchantment with the traditional public system of education and the search for alternatives is, therefore, as global a phenomenon now as was its uncritical and enthusiastic acceptance in the first two decades after the Second World War.

It is interesting to remember that this disenchantment with the formal educational system almost coincides with the disenchantment with the industrial society itself, with its accent on mass production and consumerism which is leading to a variety of crises—pollution, depletion of non-renewable scarce resources, stockpiling of nuclear weapons, the widening gap between the rich and the poor countries, and the consequent social and international tensions.

What is the direction in which the contemporary industrialised societies can move in the years ahead? In economic production and broad social organisation, they should not and cannot go back to the primitive tribal societies. The only hope for their salvation lies in creating a new 'post-industrial' society on the lines which Gandhi visualised or Ivan Illich dreams of. As an inevitable corollary to such social and economic transformation, their educational transformation also will be along similar lines. It will not be possible for them to continue with the linear expansion of the existing system of formal education. Nor will they be able to go back to the purely non-formal educational systems of the primitive tribes: that would make us lose all the advantages of specialisation which we should not only conserve

but also expand. The only alternative before these societies, therefore, is to create a new educational system which is an integrated blend of the formal and non-formal sectors and which will help the creation of the learning society of tomorrow. Fortunately, it is precisely in this direction that international thought seems to be moving at present.

The educational developments in India have followed, by and large, a similar course. In the remote past, we had primitive tribal societies which depended exclusively on non-formal education. In ancient and mediaeval India, we developed an educational system which had a small formal sector side by side with a large non-formal sector which, however, remained isolated from one another. Between 1813 and 1921, the British administrators laid the foundation of the modern educational system which totally ignored the non-formal sector and depended exclusively on the formal system of school education. Between 1921 and 1947, we expanded the formal education system, although a little slowly because of the constraints of an alien rule. Between 1947 and 1965, we expanded the formal system, like all the other countries of the world, at a terrific pace.

In 1966, the Education Commission warned us that a mere expansion of the traditional system of formal education would solve no problem but would only create several new ones. This warning is being understood and realised now, and we have at least begun to talk about the transformation of the formal school system or of creating alternatives to it. But effective action to give concrete shape to this new thinking is yet to start. Mean-while, immense financial difficulties have cropped up and slowed down expansion of the formal system – a step that we should have taken even earlier for good academic reasons. At any rate, the situation now seems to be ripe to abandon our exclusive reliance on the formal school system which is nearly 160 years old and to begin serious efforts to transform it or to build up alternatives. If this were to happen, the current financial stringency would have served a useful purpose.

One important point needs to be made. The formal educational system has played a useful role in expanding educational facilities at a time when the spread of education among the people was very limited and the community, whose

resources in non-formal education were all highly traditional, did not have any teaching and learning resources which could help it modernise itself. Even today, there are communities in remote rural and tribal areas which have so few non-traditional educational resources that we will have to develop a formal educational system in their midst, modified suitably to meet the local situation, as a first step to their modernisation. But in most parts of India, the formal system of education has played its useful role : it has sown the elements of the new education we need and created enough teaching and learning resources in the community which we can now exploit for further development. In fact, we have now reached a stage when to have 'more' of the same old formal system of education would be highly counterproductive. But we could make a sudden leap in our educational development if we were to use all the existing community resources to create the new educational system visualised here. This is, therefore, the one chance we should not miss under any circumstances.

#### A Programme for Action

In view of the foregoing discussion, what is the programme of action that we might develop in India for expansion of educational facilities?

The first and the most important step would be to abandon our exclusive reliance on the traditional system of formal education and to move in the direction of providing lifelong education for all or creating a learning society. From this point of view:

- education should cease to be considered as a one-shot affair meant for children and youth;
- education and work should be looked upon as complementary forces which operate simultaneously throughout the entire life of an individual;
- all the three channels of education – full-time, part-time, and own-time – should be developed in every stage and in every sector of education and given equal status;
- education should cease to be looked upon as a school process: it should be a social process covering *all* learning that takes place, whether in or outside the school;

- education should also cease to be the delegated responsibility of a profession and should become the direct social responsibility in which every individual is involved, both as a teacher and as a student;
- the right to learn should be assured to every individual, without any discrimination and with full equality of opportunity, and he should also receive all the support and facilities necessary for its effective exercise throughout his life; and
- the non-formal sector which has been neglected in the past should be developed and blended with the formal sector in an integrated fashion to create a new system of education which will have the advantages of both the sectors and also eliminate the weaknesses which arise when these sectors are developed in isolation.

There would hardly be two opinions about the desirability of this goal and of moving in this direction. What would, however, be challenged is its feasibility. How can we, it might be asked, hope to create an infrastructure for lifelong learning for all when we are not in a position to provide even four years' universal education for all? A little closer analysis will, however, show that the spread of education would be cheaper in the new system than in the traditional system of formal education. The poverty of our material resources gets highlighted and becomes the principal hurdle in our attempt to expand the formal education system.

In the new system, it is our abundant human resources that will be highlighted and become a principal tool for achieving the maximum of expansion at a minimum of cost. While monetary issues are important and we shall have to invest considerably more in developing a learning society, money is not likely to be the most important hurdle in this regard. The basic problems are really organisational and political; and they relate to the courage to make the hard decisions, to modify the structure of the traditional system of formal education, to fight the vested interests of the well-to-do classes and of the profession, to provide the leadership needed, and to enthuse the people and all concerned by building up a mass movement of social and economic reconstruction of which educational reconstruction on the lines indicated here would be an integral part.

It must also be pointed out that it is the dependence on the formal system of education with its immense needs of monetary investment that has widened the gap between the poor and the rich nations; and on that basis, the gap will continue to widen rather than be bridged. In the new educational system visualised here, which emphasizes human effort and mobilisation of all social resources and institutions for educational purposes, the gap will be much smaller and can be more easily bridged. The programme is, therefore, more egalitarian, not only on the national scene but even in the international field.

#### REFERENCES

8. *Report of the Education Commission (1964-66)*, para 2.54.
9. There is reason to believe that the rate of expansion of undergraduate education has slowed down in the past few years. This is due partly to the adoption of the new pattern of 10+2+3 (which transfers all education before the undergraduate course to the school stage) and partly to a fall in the rate of establishment of new colleges due to paucity of funds.
10. For details, see Appendix IV.
11. Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, *Report of the Study Group on the Development of the Pre-School Child*, New Delhi, 1972.
12. For detailed statistics of literacy, see Appendix IV.
13. It may also be pointed out that these two factors, viz., (1) education as a social rather than a school process and (2) education as a direct social rather than a delegated professional responsibility, are interdependent. The objective of utilising all learning, whether acquired inside the school or outside of it, can be realised only if we also utilise simultaneously all the teaching resources in the community, not only those of full-time paid professionals, but also of part-time volunteers and workers. The converse of this also is true in the sense that unless we involve every individual both as a student and as a teacher, we will not be able to generate the bulk of social learning which is outside the school.
14. A Brahmin was defined as one who studies throughout his life and learning and teaching were the two main duties of every Brahmin.
15. See Introduction.

#### WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

In the course of the preceding three chapters we discussed the salient features of the educational system from the point of view of our deliberate and simultaneous pursuit of the three basic goals of equality, quality, and quantity. We find that our record has been a mixed picture of light and shade and that while we have every reason to be proud of our achievements, our failures are even greater and leave no room for complacency. In this final chapter, it is proposed to link all our findings together so that we can indicate some guidelines for future action.

#### The Transformation of the Formal Education System

The most significant finding that arises from the foregoing discussion is that whether or not we succeed in our attempts to achieve equality, quality, and quantity in the educational system depends partly on the nature of the educational system and partly upon the nature of the society itself.

With regard to the first issue, our discussions have shown that our attempts to achieve equality, quality, and quantity in education have been very adversely affected by the character of the formal education system which we have built up in the country over the past 160 years and the almost exclusive dependence we have placed thereon for the spread of education among the people. The main features of this system, which have remained almost unchanged over all these years and which are the root causes of most of our educational failures, may be summed up as follows:

1. The system has been founded on the basic values of liberalism, individualism, and competitiveness. It emphasizes the individual goals of education while social goals are greatly underemphasized and neglected. This helps the classes to strengthen their privileged position and makes education a weak instrument of social transformation. It is also opposed to the socialistic pattern of society which we desire to create and which assumes that "individual fulfilment will come, not through selfish and narrow loyalties to personal or group interests, but through the dedication of all to the wider loyalties of national development in all its parameters".<sup>16</sup>

2. The formal education system still functions on the basic concepts evolved at the opening of the nineteenth century: it is a system of single-point entry, sequential annual promotions, and full-time instruction by professional teachers. By its very definition, it excludes all workers – wither children, youth, or adults – from its purview and is, therefore, unable to spread education among the poor people. Moreover, the overemphasis on professionalism increases unit costs (because teachers always want better salaries, better facilities, and lower pupil-teacher ratios) and makes the spread of education extremely difficult, if not impossible. The system is, therefore, inimical both to equality and to quantity. It also becomes inimical to quality because, on account of paucity of resources, standards of education are often diluted to achieve expansion. Moreover, the very exclusion of all workers, who are the larger and the more important social group, affects the capacity of the system to change society.
3. The definitions of quality adopted in the system have a definite middle class bias and are not helpful for the liberation of the masses or for social transformation. For instance, in-formation-gathering and verbal and linguistic skills are over-emphasized and productive skills are neglected. This perpetuates the dichotomy between education and work and places a wrong premium on white-collar attitudes. Even less emphasis is placed on the promotion of values. At the personal level, there is a greater emphasis on aping the consumption-oriented societies of the West than on traditional values (such as self-restraint and self-reliance) and those values which a modern society needs (such as competence or sense of responsibility). Social values such as commitment to social justice or equality, consideration for others, respect for public property or public sanitation, or avoidance of conspicuous consumption are also neglected. Political education which could have linked education powerfully to social development has been almost completely ignored. In fact, our concepts of quality really support the *status quo*, strengthen the position of the well-to-do classes, and build up a bridge between quality and privilege, especially because of the attempt to maintain a small number of quality institutions to which the privileged can secure admission while the bulk of the institutions which provide access to the masses remain substandard.
4. The system almost totally ignores the non-formal sector, without the proper incorporation of which in the formal system, education cannot be spread to the workers or be linked effectively with development or social transformation.
5. The system has obtained a virtual monopoly over the entire educational process: it alone can prepare individuals for well- established certificates, diplomas, or degrees which have a value in the employment market, and it alone can certify the attainments of students. This has stifled all genuine educational effort outside the system.
6. The system is geared mainly to meet the needs of the class structure in power consisting of property, employment in the organised sector, and higher education. There is a tremendous resistance in the system to provide resources to those who are outside the system and equally tremendous pressures to ensure that more and more money is spent to give more and better education to those who are already within the system. This is why programmes of universal elementary education for children or adult education tend to be neglected.
7. The policies adopted in the system even in secondary and higher education (which mainly benefit the well-to-do classes) are academically indefensible. Institutionalised secondary and higher education ought to have been of good quality, related quantitatively to employment opportunities or manpower needs, and provided in well-planned, academically viable, efficient, and economic institutions to which admissions would be made on the basis of merit and social justice and which would have adequate hostels and scholarships to ensure that the place of residence does not become a privilege. All these salutary principles have also been neglected so that standards have deteriorated, the place of residence has become a privilege, and tremendous problems of educated unemployment have been posed.

8. The system has grown to a fantastic size over the past 120 years. In 1855-56, the total number of educational institutions was 50,998 with an enrolment of 923,780 (or 0.5 per cent of the total population). Today, the total number of educational institutions is about 600,000 (with an enrolment of over 9 million or 15 per cent of the total population). The total expenditure on education has also risen from about a million in 1855-56 to about 16,000 million at present.
9. The system has tended to be uniform and rigid and allows little initiative, freedom, creativity, or experimentation within its boundaries. It is very difficult to make this monster move. There is no force within it which can change it radically; and even the political forces outside seem powerless to bring about any basic changes which would adversely affect the vested interests of the entrenched classes. With every year that passes, the monster becomes larger, more entrenched, and more difficult to be moved or changed.
10. The performance of the system is poor and its efficiency low. Waste and ineffectiveness are writ large on every sector. There is overemphasis on spending money (which is in short supply) and unwillingness to put in human effort which, if properly mobilised, would help to spread education and especially to improve standards.

This is the educational system we have given to ourselves; and the main theme of the preceding three chapters has been to show that unless this system is radically transformed on the broad lines indicated earlier, and unless we create a new system of education as indicated broadly in Chapter 3, there is no hope of our being able to provide equality of educational opportunity, or to improve quality, or to spread education widely among the people.

The second significant finding which emerges from this discussion is that the success of our attempts to introduce equality, quality, and quantity in education will depend upon the nature of society also. Our attempts at equality in education have been handicapped by the large inequalities that exist in society. Our attempts at qualitative improvement have been distorted by the pull of the existing social power structure; and our attempts

at quantity have also been frustrated by the subhuman conditions under which the majority of our people live. It is, therefore, obvious that our attempts at bringing about a radical transformation of education based on equality, quality, and quantity cannot succeed unless efforts are simultaneously made to secure social changes through economic and political action. But, unfortunately, our policies in the past have been based on the wrong assumption that even radical educational changes can be made in a static society and that the major social changes needed will result from such educational changes.

The British administrators, for instance, assumed a position of neutrality in social matters. But they did hope that modern education would change Indians into Englishmen, except in blood and colour, and that radical social changes would automatically follow. Our own national leaders, who were not only freedom fighters but ardent social reformers as well, also looked upon education as a powerful instrument of cultural, economic, political, and social transformation which would enable the country to solve its problems of poverty, ignorance, and ill-health and help it to create a strong democratic and socialist republic based on freedom, justice, equality, and dignity of the individual. It is this viewpoint that was reflected in the Report of the Education Commission which hoped that a revolutionary transformation of education would lead, in its turn, to revolutionary changes in the society.

In practice, however, it is found that the attempt to bring about social changes through education succeeds only to a limited extent and over a long period of time. For instance, it was the spread of education among women that led gradually to a social change, namely, a rise in their average age of marriage and in their status; and this social change, in its turn, made further spread of education among women possible. Similarly, the spread of education among scheduled castes has contributed to social change, namely, a reduction in the rigours of untouchability and improvement in their social status; and this social change, in its turn, has made further education of the scheduled castes possible. But this is generally a long-drawn-out process, and it may be argued that, given sufficient time, it will be possible to bring about social changes through education.

This thesis also has two main reservations. The first is that one is not sure whether radical social changes can be brought about through education, although education may prepare the ground for them or even help in their implementation. For instance, how can property or privilege in society be abolished through educational changes, although the spread of egalitarian concepts through education will certainly create a favourable atmosphere for these changes which must, in the last analysis, involve hard political decisions?

Secondly, we must recognise that it is also not possible to make basic or radical changes within the educational system if corresponding changes in society itself are not simultaneously carried out. For instance, equality of educational opportunity cannot be provided within the educational system if society itself continues to be organised on the basis of privilege. Similarly, work cannot be given its central position within the educational system if the white-collar attitudes which denigrate manual labour continue to dominate society. This is a severe limitation on the capacity of education to change itself. The best that one can assert, therefore, is that it is possible to make minor changes within the educational system even when the social structure remains unchanged, and that these minor changes, over time, will bring about certain social changes of varying significance which, in their turn, may facilitate the introduction of further educational changes. But in regard to major social changes (or when quick changes are needed), education has only a minor role to play and must yield precedence to the political process: it can only prepare for, complete, or consolidate a social change decided elsewhere, whether by bullet or by ballot.

One point needs to be made. Whether education can or cannot bring about social change also depends upon the type of education provided. It is the goals of education, its content, and the effectiveness of its implementation that invest education with power, the power to change man and to change society. What has happened in India is that education itself has been a very weak instrument. Even our exclusive reliance on bringing about social changes through the instrumentality of education would have paid richer dividends if we had really made our education a powerful instrument of individual growth and social change. This is precisely what we have signally failed to do.

An alternative strategy would be to assume that educational changes should be attempted only after a social change has been brought about through a political instrument. For instance, if radical changes in the structure of a society are brought about through a revolution and if an attempt is made to bring about educational changes as a follow-up measure of high priority, we will have outstanding results, not only in social transformation but also in educational transformation. The experience of communist countries which have radically transformed their educational systems within a short period *after* the revolution bears ample testimony in support of this view. In all these countries, a radical transformation of the society on egalitarian principles was the first item on the agenda of reform. The educational changes followed this social change; and they were planned on an equally revolutionary footing, and were given adequate priority and considerable resources so that their results also had been equally outstanding. Several educational thinkers, therefore, argue that we must wait till the revolution is ushered in to bring about a radical transformation of the educational system; and until then, any tinkering with the problem of educational reform is mere revisionism which will serve no useful purpose and which will only delay the ultimate consummation.

While the thesis is certainly plausible, not every one will accept it. The revolution is certainly not round the corner; and while one may not obstruct another committed person in trying to bring about a revolution, one will not also agree to sit with folded hands till the blessed day dawns. Moreover, it can also be argued that not all attempts at educational reform before the revolution are revisionist in character. Some of them may actually help generate social and political forces that will promote the revolution and many will give us the essential experience and expertise which will help us plan post-revolution educational reforms with greater confidence and hope of success.

The third option is to abandon both these extreme positions of social change through education or educational change through social revolution, and to decide to change both education and society simultaneously. There are several instances to show that we can get very good results in this way. For instance, the transfer of political power from the urban to the rural people and from the top to the middle classes was facilitated because adult

franchise and the spread of education operated together. The lot of scheduled castes and tribes has improved fairly quickly because reservation of seats in legislatures and in government service is being done side by side with the spread of education among them.

Two points deserve attention in this context. The first is the obvious issue that the social and educational changes proposed to be implemented simultaneously must be complementary to each other and mutually supportive. Secondly, they must also have a critical size. Small or marginal changes, even if continuously made, tend to be absorbed within the existing structure and do not produce any tangible results or the needed impact.

It, therefore, follows that if the best results are to be obtained, three aspects of the programme have to be emphasized: *simultaneity, mutual complementarity, and minimum critical size.*

Of these three possible choices, the first is not desirable in the present situation because, as was pointed out earlier, the attempt to bring about social changes through education succeeds only to a limited extent and over a long period of time. We are terribly short of time, even for decent survival, and there is no room at present for the nineteenth century concepts of gradualism. Moreover, our needs cannot be met by a limited social or educational change. We have a sick society on our hands which is becoming sicker every year. There is, thus, an urgent need for a radical social and educational transformation. Some of these changes may be mainly attempted through education (e.g., universal education for children in the age group 6-14), but they will succeed better if a programme of meeting the minimum needs of the people living below the poverty line is simultaneously pursued. On the other hand, some of these will have to be directly attempted through political and economic action (e.g., rural development) and will succeed better if they are simultaneously accompanied by appropriate educational programmes (e.g., the non-formal education of out-of-school youth in the age group 15-25). In other words, even if we begin on the first assumption that we shall attempt social changes through education, the inherent compulsions of the situation will inevitably take us to the third assumption that our best hope lies in attempting a simultaneous and complementary programme of both social and educational changes of at least a minimum critical size.<sup>17</sup>

### A Programme of Action

What is the programme of simultaneous social and educational changes of a critical size that we should try to implement over the next ten years?

1. *The Social Changes:* The preceding discussions have shown that we have not been able to achieve equality in society and that the quality of life of the bulk of our people is still very poor. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, we had a society which was divided into a class of the haves and a large mass of the have-nots and which was inequalitarian, hierarchical, and stratified. There have been some changes in the classes of the haves during the past 160 years (and so also among the have-nots) and an element of vertical mobility has been introduced. But the overall picture of the society continues to be broadly the same – hierarchical, stratified, and inequalitarian.

Direct political and economic action is, therefore, needed to cut down the conspicuous consumption of the top 30 per cent of the people and simultaneously to improve the standards of living of the poor people, and especially of the bottom 30 per cent, through provision of guaranteed employment at a reasonable wage and the maintenance of a large public distribution system for the basic essential goods. Internationally, our stand is for a better distribution of resources between the different countries of the world. It should also be a national policy. Simultaneously, we should cut the direct link between education in the formal system and employment so that education becomes really a pursuit of truth and excellence and not a rat race for ambition to climb to privilege.

2. *The Educational Changes:* The minimum programme of educational reforms of a viable critical size that can make a significant improvement in the present situation will obviously include, as the preceding discussions have shown,
  - the radical transformation of the existing system of traditional formal education on the broad lines indicated here;

- the proper development of programmes of mass education which have been neglected so far, viz., the provision of universal elementary education to all children in a common school system with a view to making them lifelong students, the development of adult education, and non-formal education for out-of-school youth in the age group 15-25; and
- reorganisation of secondary and higher education on the lines discussed in Chapters 1 and 3.

This experiment of simultaneous social and educational reconstruction can be effectively carried out only through a nationwide mass movement which has full political support and in which every individual is fully involved. It is a pity that, in the political arena, education is still a marginal issue so that the basic educational problems do not get highlighted in the political debates. Either the existing parties will have to be educated on the significance and urgency of these problems or appropriate new social and political forces that are committed to these issues will have to come into existence.

For the planning and implementation of this great experiment, Gandhi is relevant, and so is Marx. What is needed, therefore, is a dialogue between Gandhism and Marxism which will enable us to discover and put across the most effective programmes of educational and social reconstruction suited to the unique civilisation that is India.

#### REFERENCES

16. *Report of the Education Commission (1964-66)*, para 1.15.
17. This in fact was practically the conclusion that the Education Commission finally reached although it began with the first assumption. It said: "We have emphasized that educational and national reconstruction are intimately interrelated and that perhaps the most effective way of breaking the vicious circle in which we find ourselves at present is to begin educational reconstruction in a big way. We would, however, like to point out that it will not be possible to make much headway in education unless the basic problems of life are also squarely faced and resolutely tackled. This stresses the interlinking of education and national development."

— *Report*, para 19.50.

#### Appendix I

##### Structural Changes Needed in the Existing Formal System of Elementary Education

A major implication of the decision to provide universal primary education in the age group 6-14 in ten years is that the necessary radical transformation in the traditional model would be carried out without delay. The traditional model for the development of primary education was essentially meant for the well-to-do classes who appreciate the value of education and are also in a position to feed, clothe, and equip their children to attend schools on a whole-time basis. It has, therefore, a built-in bias in favour of the education of the classes and a built-in antagonism for the education of the masses. It is this basic issue which often goes unrecognised and needs clarification.

The existing primary schools may be regarded as a single-point entry, sequential, and full-time system of institutional instruction by full-time and professional teachers. It is necessary to analyse each of these attributes in some detail.

*Single-Point Entry:* Ordinarily, a child is expected to enter the primary education system at about the age of six (or even five in some States) in Class I. It is true that children below or above this prescribed age of first admission are also allowed to join Class I. It is also true that children who have studied privately may be examined and allowed to join, according to their abilities, in a class higher than the first. But such admissions of underage or overage children in Class I or in classes other than first are exceptions rather than the rule; and it would be correct to say that, for the average child, especially in the rural areas, there is only one age of entry, namely, six or five, and only one class in which fresh admission can be given, namely, Class I.

This system has the obvious advantage that it tends to create a homogeneous age group cohort in Class I which tends to rise, year after year, to successive classes, and which makes classroom instruction comparatively easier. But it has its disadvantages also. For instance, what happens to a rural child who does not get into Class I at about the age of 11? In practice, this child can never get into school again and he will have to live and die as an illiterate adult. All that we can say to this child is : "Sorry, my boy. You



have unfortunately missed the bus. But when you grow up, get married, and have a child, bring him along when he is six and we shall be happy to admit him in Class I." If, by some misfortune, this child were to miss admission in Class I at about the age of six, we are prepared to wait patiently for the grandchild. It is this approach of providing a single-point entry to the entire educational system that makes it so ineffective in practice.

What happens to a child who desires to learn at a little later age, say, 11 or 14? It is true that such a child can and is also admitted to primary schools. But the admission is made invariably in Class I and this grownup child is required to sit along with other very young children, learn the same lessons, and at the same speed. This is usually very boring to this grownup child who, more often than not, runs away from the school and becomes a 'dropout'. What such a child needs is specially-organised classes where primary education is imparted through special techniques suited to his more mature mind. But there is no provision in our system for this purpose.

It is obvious that our educational system would gain infinitely if it were to provide, not a single-point entry at about the age of six, but multiple-point entries at different ages, say, 9, 11, 14, or even 17. The desire to learn may spring up in the minds of children at any of these later ages; and our system should be elastic enough to admit them into primary schools which are specially organised and where instruction is imparted on lines which are more suited to their maturity. Such alternative channels of admission would bring, into the school system large numbers of children who now remain out and add merely to the numbers of illiterate adults. It is also obvious that such a system would be far more effective from the point of view of the spread of literacy among the masses than the present model of a single-point entry at Class I at about the age of six.

### Sequential Character

The existing primary schools are also a sequential system in the sense that a child is expected to complete one class every year and to rise to the next higher class after passing the annual examination. There are, of course, large exceptions. Many children fail to pass the examination at the end of the year and are, therefore, detained in the same class as repeaters. The extent of

this evil, generally known as stagnation, is very large in our system at present. On the other hand, a few children may complete two classes in a year and be given a 'double' promotion. But such cases are extremely rare. By and large, therefore, the system functions in a sequential manner and children rise every year from class to class.

The primary objective of this system again is to facilitate classroom instruction by grouping children of similar attainments together. This purpose is admirably served, no doubt. On the other hand, it does not meet the needs of children who begin late. For instance, it has been shown through practical experimentation that grownup children of 11 or 14 years of age are able to complete the studies of Class I-V in about two years. Very often, grownup children of 14 to 18 years of age are able to complete the course prescribed for Class I-VIII in a period of two-three years and pass the Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination creditably. Programmes of this type are obviously very useful and suitable for conditions of a developing country like ours. But these have never been developed, except in a few experimental projects conducted by well-meaning and forward-looking educationists.

### Full-time Instruction

Another important aspect of the existing primary schools is that they only provide full-time institutional instruction. This of course does not create any problem for the classes who are economically in a position to feed, clothe, and equip their children to attend full-time schools. But the system is extremely antagonistic to the interests of the masses who are so poor that their children are compelled to work at home or outside and to add to the meagre family budget. Every boy is generally required to work as soon as he grows up and becomes about nine years old; he works

on the family farm, tends cattle, or goes out to earn some wages in whatever way possible. A girl is required to assist her over-burdened mother and to look after the younger children who keep continually coming in. It is impossible for those children to attend schools on a whole-time basis; and that is why they either never go to school or generally drop out, sooner rather than later. These hard economic factors are the principal reasons for the large

wastage which now afflicts primary education and account for about two-thirds of it or even more.

This wastage can be overcome in a variety of ways. For instance, the standards of living of the common people may be so raised that they are also in a position to feed, clothe, and equip their children to attend full-time institutions. The society may provide cash grants to the parents of such children to compensate them for their foregone earnings and then compel them to send their children to schools.

Alternatively, a system of part-time education can be organised so that all such children, who are required to work in or for their families, may be able to earn as well as to learn. It is obvious that the first of the methods, however laudable, can only be a long-term solution. The second is financially beyond the reach of government at this time and for years to come. The only practicable alternative, therefore, is the third, namely, to organise a large-scale programme of part-time education for working children.

Today, our motto is that either the child attends the school on a full-time basis or is compelled to drop out. This heartless system – heartless to the poor man's child – has no place in a country like ours where the vast bulk of the people are so poor. It should be replaced by another in which every child is required to attend school on a full-time basis, if possible, and on a part-time basis, if necessary. The hours of part-time instruction in such a system can also be organised in a manner that would suit the working conditions of the children and enable them to educate themselves without interfering with the essential work which they must put in for their families.

#### **Exclusive Utilisation of Professional Teachers**

Yet another aspect of the existing primary schools is that they utilise the service of full-time professional teachers only. This is done in the name of standards and no one would quarrel with the attempt to utilise full-time professional teachers. However, an exclusive dependence on this pattern creates several problems. The first is a continuing increase in costs because the inescapable consequence of such professionalisation is a rise in salaries and allowances of teachers (which increases cost per teacher unit) and

a continuous reduction in the pupil-teacher ratio (which increases cost per pupil). Moreover, the very cause of quality often suffers because of this emphasis. It has been suggested, for instance, that the standards in the primary schools would improve if they utilise local talent and teaching resources, e.g., a local carpenter or a tailor may be used to teach a craft in primary schools or a local good singer may be utilised for teaching music. It is not necessary that such teachers should necessarily be qualified from the strictly professional point of view and it is also possible to make them good teachers through short programmes of orientation. But such efforts are never made. The costs of primary schools may also go down if pupils themselves are utilised for purposes of teaching. In the traditional indigenous schools of India, for instance, the monitorial system was a very common feature under which pupils were paired off and a senior pupil was required to take charge of instructing a junior pupil entrusted to his care, under the general guidance of the teacher. Such a system or its variations can give excellent results, specially in single teacher schools or in schools where it is not economically feasible to provide one teacher for every class. In several areas, it is also possible to use local young persons to assist the teachers of local primary schools in educating the children of the community and pay them small allowances which would be extremely valuable in the local conditions, but which would, nevertheless, reduce the overall costs of education to a substantial extent. But these devices also remain unexplored. What is worse, whenever such proposals for the utilisation of non-professional teachers are put forward, the entire organisation of the professional teachers rises up in revolt and sees to it that they are neither adopted nor allowed to succeed.

One other point needs mention: our primary schools have no pre-schools or creches attached to them. The most common work which girls from poor families are required to do is to look after young children. On the one hand, we are anxious to promote girls' education and organise a number of programmes to increase their enrolment. On the other, we do not permit girls to bring young children with them and request them to leave them at home before coming to school. Since this is impossible, the practice means only one thing: the girls are prevented from joining primary schools and there is a positive disincentive in the system against the spread of education among girls from poor families.

Experiments have been tried, notably by the late Smt. Tarabai Modak, wherein small creches or preschools were attached to primary schools and were conducted by the girls themselves under the general supervision of the teachers. The additional costs involved in the programme were marginal, but they succeeded very well in enrolling a large number of girls from the poorer families. This elasticity of organisation is absent in the model that we have developed and, consequently, the development of education of girls from the masses is considerably hampered.

*The Changes Needed :* It is thus obvious that the exiting model of the primary education system favours the well-to-do whose children complete the primary course successfully (their main objective is secondary or higher education for which they look upon primary education merely as inevitable stepping stone) and harms the interests of the masses, the bulk of whose children are converted into 'failures' and 'dropouts'. If primary education is to be made universal, we recommended that the traditional model of the primary education system should be radically modified on the following lines to make due provision for the education of the children of the masses:

1. The single-point entry system must be replaced by a multiple-point entry system under which it will be open for older children of 9, 11, or 14 to join the primary schools in separate classes specially organised for their needs.
2. The sequential character of the system must go; and it should be possible for older children to join the prescribed courses at any time and also to complete them in much shorter period.
3. The exclusive emphasis on full-time institutional instruction that is laid in the present system should be replaced by a large programme of part-time education which should be arranged to suit the convenience of children who are required to work.
4. The exclusive emphasis on the utilisation of full-time professional teachers should go. An attempt should be made to utilise all the teaching resources available in the local community; and the services of part-time local teachers and even of senior students should be fully utilised for promoting instruction in the primary schools.
5. There should be no rigid demarcation between primary schools and preschools. Girls who are required to look after

young children should be encouraged to bring them to the school. These could be taken care of in pre-school or creches attached to the primary schools which are managed by the girls themselves, by turns, under the guidance of the teachers. This will provide a valuable service at the minimal additional cost and assist materially in the spread of education amongst girls from the poorer families.

These major structural changes should be carried out on the basis of highest priority. This alone can help us to implement the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution over the next 10 years.

This recommendation, let us incidentally point out, is in line with the latest trends in world education where the exclusively formal systems are being currently blended with large programmes of non-formal education to meet the needs of modern and changing societies and to provide the base of a new system of lifelong education for all. Even at its best, a formal system of education with its single-point entry, its sequential promotions from class to class every year, its exclusively full-time courses, and its professionalised body of teachers, has several limitations. It can serve only the non-working population which is the smaller and less effective section of the total population. It offers no help or a second chance to those unfortunate children who miss its narrow doors of admission or who are compelled to step off it for social and economic reasons. It contributes only a small proportion of the total education which an individual receives (the bulk of this comes from the home, the society at large, and the personal and working life of the individual himself). It has also a tendency to become a vested interest and help to perpetuate privilege or conformity rather than to promote equality or healthy dissent. At the same time, its cost continues to mount till a point is reached when even the most affluent nations begin to feel that they are beyond their reach. To overcome all these difficulties, an attempt is now being made, all over the world, to abandon the traditional obsession with the exclusive use of the formal system of education and to blend it fittingly with the non-formal system. This is being done, not only at the first, but at all stages of education. We shall therefore be in good company and on sound footing if we introduce this reform in India at the primary stage. We understand that similar steps are also being taken at the secondary and university stages.

## Appendix II

### Programmes of Qualitative Improvement Recommended by the Education Commission

The Education Commission (1964-66) was of the view that non-monetary inputs are of crucial significance for the qualitative improvement of education. From this point of view, it made several recommendations which have been summarised below.

#### Organisation of a Nationwide Programme of School Improvement

Qualitative improvement in education is best achieved when all the human agencies concerned - teachers, students, and parents—are motivated to put in their best efforts. This becomes easily possible when programmes of qualitative improvement are organised on the basis of a nationwide mass movement. The Education Commission, therefore, made the following recommendation:

10.24. In view of the great need to improve standards of education at the school stage, we recommend that a nationwide programme of school improvement should be developed in which conditions will be created for each school to strive continually to achieve the best results of which it is capable. No comprehensive programme of educational development can ever be put across unless it involves *every* educational institution and *all* the human factors connected with it – its teachers, students and the local community – and unless it provides the necessary inducements to take them put in their best efforts. For various reasons, this involvement does not take place and the motivation is not created at present. The main objective of this programme is to create these factors which have a large share in determining standards.

#### Preparation of Institutional Plans

For a comprehensive and well-organised planning process, we need plans at the national, state, district, and institutional levels. In our situation at present, the national plans are overemphasised; the state level planning has developed to some extent but still leaves a good deal to be desired; at the district level, there is hardly

any planning; and except for a few good institutions, no attempt is made to plan at the institutional level. The Education Commission, therefore, recommended that a programme should be drawn up and implemented under which every educational institution would, as a matter of course, prepare and implement its own plans of growth and development. This is a very important recommendation because every educational institution has a personality of its own which has to be respected if the best results in education are to be obtained.

On this subject, the following observations made by the Education Commission deserve special attention:

10.26. Each such plan will necessarily include proposals for the improvement of the physical facilities available in the institution. We realise the need to provide certain minimum essential facilities without which it is almost impossible for teachers to work. However, we would like to emphasize two points in this regard:

"1) The first is that even within its existing resources, however limited they may be, every educational institution can do a great deal more, through better planning and harder work, to improve the quality of education it provides. In our opinion, therefore, the emphasis in this movement should be, not so much on physical resources, as on motivating the human agencies concerned to make their best efforts in a coordinated manner for the improvement of education, and thereby offset the shortcomings in the physical resources. There are a large number of programmes which an educational institution can undertake on the basis of human effort and in spite of paucity of physical resources. These include: reduction in stagnation and wastage; improvement of teaching methods; assistance to retarded students; special attention to gifted students; enrichment of the curricula; trying out new techniques of work; improved method of organising the instructional programme of the school; and increasing the professional competence of teachers through programmes of self-study. It is the planning and implementation of programmes of this type that should be emphasized.

"2) The second is that an intensive effort should be made to improve the facilities provided in schools through the cooperation of the local community. Very good work in this

respect has been done in the Madras State where school improvement conferences have been organised for some years and large-scale assistance from the local community has been obtained for improving school facilities. Similar programmes should be developed in all parts of the country, both at the primary and secondary stages."

### Elasticity and Dynamism

The existing educational system has grown to a tremendous size. Because of a tendency to centralise power and authority, which was quite understandable under British administration, it became uniform and rigid, especially between 1901 and 1921. Even after the attainment of independence, however, the trend towards centralisation has increased rather than decreased, with the result that the educational system today is even more uniform and rigid than what it was in 1921 or even in 1947. In a vast country like India with all its diversities and pluralities, an attempt to create a uniform and rigid educational structure is as difficult as swimming against a current. What is worse, any attempt for reform or to change the system becomes very difficult.

The system generally operates under the maxim that either everyone moves or none moves, and the only result is that none moves. On the other hand, our situation has great potential for the development of an educational system which is elastic and dynamic. This will provide each individual institution or local community enough elbowroom to adjust education to its own needs without sacrificing the advantages which it can get by being a part of a large national structure. The Education Commission, therefore, pointed out that a precondition for a nationwide programme of qualitative improvement was to encourage initiative, creativity, and experimentation on the part of teachers and institutions. It said :

10.28 ... What is needed is a decentralised approach which can permit each institution (or at least a group of institutions) to go ahead at its own pace and try out new ideas. This is not possible in the existing system where educational plans are prepared with the State as a unit and where all that is expected on the part of teachers and institutions is conformity. In the proposal made above, Government has to regard each institution as a unit in itself, having an individuality of its own, and to help it to grow at its own

pace and in its own individual manner. This will make it possible for teachers to participate in the joy of creation and will motivate them to more intensive efforts at qualitative improvement.

### Selective Development

For qualitative improvement of education, the Education Commission recommended, what it described, a 'seed-farm technology'. Under this technology, good seed or excellence is generated in a few seed-farms and is then extended to the remaining farms. In education also, such a strategy will mean that a few selected institutions, say, about 10 per cent of the total, would be selected for improvement to optimum levels and then the excellence generated in these institutions would be extended to other institutions. The Education Commission had recommended that this policy should be adopted and followed at all stages and in all sectors of education.

The advantages of this strategy, especially in a situation where resources are limited, are obvious. However, it may be objected to on democratic grounds. The Education Commission anticipated this objection and met it effectively in the following words :

11.25. A possible objection to these proposals may be that what is proposed here is not quite democratic, that it seeks to institute a system of elite education by favouring certain institutions and impoverishing others. We recognise that our approach does involve at this stage a certain differentiation between the universities. This is, however, not only inevitable in an economy of scarcity but is also the only sure and practicable way to benefit all ultimately in the shortest time possible. Moreover, we must recognise that pursuit of excellence implies and requires a discriminatory approach; and that to provide equal resources to all irrespective of the quality of their performance and potentiality for growth merely promotes mediocrity. We are trying to establish a democratic social order in our country and obviously a democracy cannot flourish unless it has at its disposal the services of a highly trained and powerfully motivated educated class. Unless a system can be devised which will produce such persons in much larger numbers than is being done at present, every aspect of the country's development will be prejudicially affected. In fact, we may go further and

say that there is always need for elite from Chicago, Harvard and Columbia. The upper stratum of American higher education was developed in the first quarter of the present century, largely by the Ph.D.s from Chicago, Harvard and Columbia. The development of British higher education in the first half of the present century was largely due to the fact that, until recently, the staff of the new universities in most subjects was supplied by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge which, by 1900, had taken their place as distinguished centres of scholarship and high standards of teaching.

What the Commission has said about higher education in the above passage would obviously apply, with equal force, in other stages and sectors of education as well.

### College and School Complexes

In the existing system, every educational institution is 'atomised' in the sense that it functions in total isolation from others and is directly controlled by the State education department. Even within institutions, further atomisation often takes place. In a university, for instance, the different departments often function in complete isolation from one another; and even within a department, many of the teachers are often not even on speaking terms with each other. It is impossible to get the best educational results under such conditions. The Education Commission, therefore, recommended that educational institutions in a neighbourhood should function as a group and strengthen and support each other; the universities should help the colleges, the colleges should help the secondary schools, and the secondary schools should help the elementary schools, through a variety of programmes such as provision of extension services, training of personnel, and sharing of facilities. The important recommendations made by the Commission on this subject have been quoted below :

2.49. *The Role of Universities and Colleges.* The universities and colleges, for example, should assist the secondary schools in improving their efficiency. The following are some of the programmes which can be undertaken:

- Each college can be functionally related to a number of secondary schools in the neighbourhood and enabled to

provide extension services and guidance to them to improve their standards. A similar programme for the colleges themselves could be developed through the universities.

- The universities can conduct special diploma courses, either pre-service or in-service, for improving the competence of secondary teachers. These can preferably be correspondence courses, requiring only short-term personal attendance.
- The universities can conduct experimental secondary or primary schools to evolve improved techniques of teaching and organisation.
- The university and college teachers can take upon themselves the responsibility for improving school textbooks and providing better types of instructional materials.
- The universities and colleges could select talented students from the schools in different subjects at an appropriate stage, say, in the age-group 13-15, and help them to develop their knowledge in special fields through individual guidance, provision of laboratory facilities, etc., over and above regular school work.

These programmes have been cited merely as illustrations. Once the principle that the universities should assist in the improvement of standards at lower stages is accepted it will be possible to devise many other programmes.

10.39. *The School Complex.* The idea of the school complex or the manner in which a high school, about three or four higher primary schools and 10 to 20 lower primary schools in the neighbourhood would be integrally linked together, has been described earlier. We shall now proceed to discuss how the school complexes should function as a part of the new supervision we are proposing. As explained earlier, the objectives of introducing the school complex will be two: to break the isolation of schools and help them to function in small, face-to-face, cooperative groups; and to make a delegation of authority from the Department possible. As we visualise the picture, the District Educational Officer will be mainly in touch with each school complex and, as far as possible, deal with it as a unit. The complex itself will perform certain delegated tasks which would

otherwise have been performed by the inspecting officers of the Department, and deal with the individual schools within it. Under this programme, the schools will gain in strength, will be able to exercise greater freedom and will help in making the system more elastic and dynamic. The Department will also gain - it will be able to concentrate its attention on major essentials and can afford to have fewer officers but at a higher level of competence.

10.40. How will the school complex function? If the system is to be effective, adequate powers and responsibilities will have to be delegated to the complex. These may include the following:

- 1) The school complex may be used as a unit for the introduction of better methods of evaluation and for regulating the promotion of children from class to class or from one level of school to another.
- 2) As stated earlier, it is possible to provide certain facilities and equipment, which cannot be provided separately to each school, jointly for all the schools in a complex. This will include a projector with a portable generator which can go round from school to school. Similarly, the central high school may have a good laboratory and students from the primary school in the complex may be brought to it during the vacation or holidays for practical work or demonstration. The central high school may maintain a circulating library from which books could be sent out to schools in the neighbourhood. The facilities of special teachers could also be shared. For instance, it is not possible to appoint separate teachers for physical education or for art work in primary schools. But such teachers are appointed on the staff of secondary schools; and it should be possible, by a carefully planned arrangement, to make use of their services to guide the teachers in primary schools and also to spend some time with their students.
- 3) The in-service education of teachers in general, and the upgrading of the less qualified teachers in particular, should be an important responsibility of the school complex. For this purpose, it should maintain a central circulating library for the use of teachers. It should arrange periodical meetings of all the teachers in the complex, say, once a month, where discussions on school problems could be had, some talks or film shows arranged, or some

demonstration lessons given. During the vacations, even short special courses can be organised for groups of teachers.

- 4) Each school should be ordinarily expected to plan its work in sufficient detail for the ensuing academic year. Such planning could preferably be done by the headmasters of the schools within the complex. They should meet together and decide on broad principles of development in the light of which each individual school can plan its own programme.
- 5) It is very difficult to provide leave substitutes for teachers in primary schools, because the size of each school is so small that no leave reserve teacher can be appointed. This becomes particularly difficult in single teacher schools where, if the teacher is on leave, the school has to remain closed. In the school complex concept, it will be possible to attach one or two leave reserve teachers to the central secondary school; and they can be sent to schools within the complex as and when the need arises.
- 6) Selected school complexes can be used for trying out and evaluating new textbooks, teachers' guides and teaching aids.
- 7) The school complex may also be authorised to modify, within prescribed limits and subject to the approval of the District Educational Officer, the usual prescribed curricula and syllabuses.

Such cooperation between institutions would naturally promote cooperation within institutions also.

### Full Utilisation of Existing Facilities

In the present system, utilisation of existing facilities is far from happy. If one were to examine the number of days in a year and the number of hours on each day an educational institution works, one would easily come to the conclusion that all its facilities are very highly unutilised. Full utilisation is necessary even in rich countries. Not to do so is almost a crime in poor and developing countries. The Education Commission, therefore, recommended that every effort should be made to utilise the existing institutional facilities in our educational system to the fullest extent possible. It said:

2.42 ... Since it is very costly to provide and maintain the physical plant of educational institutions, it becomes necessary to utilise it as fully as possible, for the longest time on each day and for all the days in the year, by making suitable administrative arrangements. Teachers and students would continue to have their own hours of work and vacations as recommended above. The libraries, laboratories, workshops, craftsheds, etc., should be open all the year round and should be utilised for at least eight hours a day, if not longer. Special vacation programmes should be arranged to utilise institutional facilities for community service, adult education, temporary hostels for day students, enrichment programmes for gifted students and supporting programmes for retarded students. It is not necessary to indicate all the different ways in which the institutional facilities could be utilised all the year round. If an understanding is developed that educational institutions are like temples of learning and should never remain closed, and if a proper climate for sustained work is created, teachers, students and the local communities will themselves discover innumerable methods of utilising school facilities to the maximum potential throughout the year. As it is difficult to expand educational facilities adequately and wasteful to under-utilise existing resources, such programmes demand urgent attention.

### **Creating Climate of Dedicated Hard Work**

Education is essentially a stretching process; and standards can be improved only if teachers and students stretch themselves to the utmost. As the main goal of education is social development, idealism is always essential in all educational programmes. It is more needed now than at any time in the past. The Education Commission, therefore, recommended that every effort should be made to create a climate of dedicated and sustained hard work in all educational institutions. It said:

19.49. Education thus needs and demands, more than anything else, hard work and dedicated service. In particular, it presents a supreme challenge to the students, teachers and educational administrators who are now called upon to create a system of education related to the life, needs and aspirations of the people and to maintain it at the highest level of efficiency. It is upon their response to this challenge that the future of the country depends.

## **APPENDIX III**

### **A Programme for the Education of Out-of-School Youth in the Age Group 15-25 Need and Significance**

Investment in education is necessarily long term and begins to yield results after a generation and, in some cases, even after a long period. Developing countries, however, are pressed greatly for time; and hence an important issue is educational programmes which can yield quicker and almost immediate results. If such programmes can be identified and implemented, those developing countries that will get a much better and quicker return for their investment in education will stand most to benefit.

Several programmes of this type can be suggested. But of all these, probably the most significant and far-reaching would be a crash programme for the education of young persons in the age group 15-25. The size of this group is large, about 25 per cent of the total population. Its members are generally alert, inquisitive, impressionable, and capable of being inspired by emotional commitments to service of the people and the country. As educands, therefore, they offer rich and potential material that is much easier to handle than either children of younger age or adults. What is more important, the cost of an educational programme for them are comparatively less (for such education is necessarily part-time) and its returns immediate and effective because these young persons will become active and influential members of the society in five to ten years.

### **Content and Character of the Programme**

A small proportion of the young persons aged 15-25 are undergoing full-time education at present at different levels – some at the primary, a majority at the secondary, and some at the university stages. But, taken all in all, the enrolment of this age group in all categories of educational institutions does not exceed about 10 per cent of their total population. No proposals are made here regarding the education of this small group already enrolled in schools and colleges. The normal programmes of educational reform would take care of their needs. But what we are concerned with most, in this paper, is the development of an educational programme for the out-of-school youth who form the other 90 per cent of the age group and who are at present without any



educational facilities whatsoever. It is for them - and they form about 18 per cent of the total population - that a large-scale educational programme has to be developed on a war footing.

The content and character of this programme will obviously depend upon educational attainments and needs of these young persons. Some of them may have completed secondary education and a few would even be university graduates. A much larger number would have received some primary education and may be expected to be literate with varying degrees of other educational attainments. But, during the next decade at any rate, a little more than half would be those who have not been to school at all or who left school too early to have attained functional literacy. The programmes to be developed for this group would therefore be at various levels for a large proportion, at the primary level with an emphasis on functional literacy. But for another much smaller and more significant group, the education required would, in its content, be at the secondary level. A small minority of these may even need education at the university level.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that continuing general education alone would be strong enough to attract and hold these young persons and meet their needs. General education will be a necessary component of the new programme, no doubt. But by itself it would not have the necessary vitality. It must be remembered that most of these out-of-school youth are workers, engaged in some activity that enables them to earn a living or to help their family to make both ends meet. Even though they are technically non-workers, they are sharing full responsibilities of the normal work in their families. The focus of their interest is therefore vocational; and what will attract them most is the prospect of improving their present vocational skills so that they can earn a little more, or of learning some new vocational skills that will enable them to improve their economic status. A strong vocational element will therefore have to be built into all educational programmes proposed to be developed for this young group.

Given this strong vocational core, it will be possible to build several other educational elements around it that by themselves would not be strong enough to attract and retain these young persons. The first, as stated above, is general education. The second important component would be family life education, including family planning. Most of the persons in this age group

would be married, especially in rural areas, and a programme of family life education will interest them most and would also be extremely beneficial. It is also obvious that it is this group, just entering the procreative stage of life, that needs to be exposed to education in family planning. Unfortunately, the family planning worker does not reach them or become effective with them for sheer absence of a continuing channel of communication. The chances of the family planning programme's succeeding and becoming effective are therefore the largest if it is operated as a part of a comprehensive educational programme for out-of-school youth.

Two other important educational elements can also be added with advantage. The first is the recreational and cultural interest of youth, and the second is their willingness, or even eagerness, to participate in meaningful programmes of nation-building or social service.

It is thus proposed that what these young persons need is a mix of several educational elements-a mix that will have a strong vocational core round which will be built up other important educational interests, such as continuing general education (including functional literacy, where necessary), family life education (including family planning), promotion of recreational and cultural pursuits, and participation in programmes of social service or national development. The nature of the mix will vary from group to group, and even in the same group, from time to time. The success of the programme will largely depend upon the manner in which its organisers are able to visualise and provide the precise mix that a given group needs at a particular moment.

It must also be pointed out that this will essentially be a programme of part-time education because most of the persons to be educated are employed in one way or another. Those who are unemployed and are able to join on a whole-time basis will have two options : to join any existing educational institution of their choice on a whole-time basis, or to participate in this programme on a part-time basis. But for several reasons, this will only be a part-time programme.

It will be necessary to carry out careful surveys of young persons in a given locality to find out not only what their interests are but also what the times are when they can conveniently receive instruction. The success of the programme will obviously depend as much upon the conformity between the hours of instruction

and the leisure time of the youth as upon the 'fit' between its content and their needs and interests.

Part-time classroom instruction would thus be the most important technique. But it should not be the sole technique. It will have to be supplemented, wherever necessary, by correspondence education, through mass media like the radio and the film, and full-time intensive instruction of comparatively short duration provided in specially arranged residential camps. All these different techniques will have to be mixed appropriately to meet the needs of each group from time to time.

### Agencies

What are the agencies through which this programme can be developed? It will be a fatal mistake to try to create a new agency for the programme. Such a proposal will be extremely costly and will also take too much time. Our policy should, therefore, be to create only a new organisation for the programme, and to utilise for its purposes all the resources both human and material of all existing institutions as well as the educational resources available in the community itself, which often go untapped. This is the only economic and practical method of attacking the problem in a massive way and without much loss of time.

The focal agency that should be harnessed for this programme is the huge infrastructure we have created for the education of children and the young – namely, our primary and middle schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities, and vocational institutions of all categories. We have now about 550,000 primary schools, about 120,000 middle schools, about 50,000 secondary schools, about 4,000 colleges, nearly 100 universities or university-level institutions, and some thousands of vocational institutions both for agriculture and industry. They have among them about 2.5 million teachers, thousands of buildings, and equipment valued in ten millions of rupees. These are vast resources that must be utilised for this programme on a part-time basis.

There is also the special advantage for this programme that most of these out-of-school youth will have been at some time students in these schools. It is, therefore, suggested that these institutions should be the centres round which the new programme should be built, and that their teachers, equipment, and buildings should be fully utilised. This will not create any

conflict between their normal programmes and this new part-time programme. If steps are taken to pay additional remuneration to teachers for the extra work they will have to do, it will be possible to mount this programme at a minimal cost and in the shortest time.

Important as the role of these educational institutions is in this programme, it is necessary to realise that the cooperation of several other agencies has also to be secured in its proper development. The core of the new programme has to be vocational, and for this the present educational system is not adequately equipped. In addition to the resources that all existing institutions of vocational education can bring to bear, it is necessary to enlist additional support through all other available organisations; for example, the agricultural universities, the Gram Sewak training centres, and the demonstration or seed farms of the agricultural departments can provide valuable resources for education in agriculture. The Industrial Training Institutes can provide a very good base for education in industry. The personnel of the Health Department, institutions of medical education, and the hospitals and dispensaries can add their resources for the development of family life education, including family planning. Several other departments of government can also make their own significant contributions, and it will be necessary to rope all of them into the programme.

Not only this. The large educational resources that the community has, and that generally go untapped, will have to be utilised. For instance, retired teachers can be of great help. The private medical practitioners may have to be involved in courses in family planning. Private industry should also be required to assist and participate. The services of individual craftsmen and other skilled workers, who may be managing their own business, could also be requisitioned on a part-time basis. Sportsmen and artists living in the community can be harnessed to provide for recreational and cultural needs. And so on.

It is claimed that in any given area where the programme is to be developed, we will find not only the educational needs of the young but also several institutions and personnel who have skills and services to meet these needs. What is therefore needed is a survey of the educational needs and interests of the young, on the one hand, and of the institutional and human resources available in the community to meet them, on the other. The

contribution of the organiser is to bring these two together in a meaningful manner. This, therefore, is essentially a problem not of a lack of resources but of a lack of the necessary vision and organisation. It is these that we have now to emphasize.

In all countries where such programmes have been developed, it is found that the young themselves make very good teachers for the young. It should, therefore, be our policy, right from the start, to develop leaders amongst the out-of-school youth who will take increasingly upon themselves the growing responsibilities of this educational programme. This is also the reason why such a programme will provide special opportunities for compulsory national service. If government desires to make national service compulsory for university graduates, the development of this programme can provide the necessary field experience; for on the basis of this alone, a meaningful programme of national service for university students can be developed.

### Organisation

What type of an organisation will be needed for the development of this programme and how shall the programme evolve? These are the two important questions that we will have to answer.

It may be desirable to visualise, in the first instance, the organisation required at the grassroots level. We may, therefore, take the district as a unit. What is visualised here is that there will be a special officer in charge of this programme for the district as a whole, with the necessary subordinate staff to assist him in the discharge of his responsibilities. This officer, whose responsibilities will be largely organisational, may belong to the Education Department. But he will have to coordinate the resources of all government departments if the programme is to succeed.

Once this officer is in position, the next thing to decide upon is the centres where the programme will start. As has been stated above, the centre will have to be some educational institution—either a college or a secondary school or even a primary or middle school. Ultimately, all these institutions will have to be involved. But to begin with, the district officer will have to take a quick survey and select a few institutions where the necessary leadership and interest is available. He might begin with about fifty to a hundred centres in a district. These may be spread in all parts of the district or may be selectively located in a few community development blocks.

Once the centres are selected, the next step would be to survey the local needs as well as the available resources. The survey of needs will include contacting every young person in the age group 15-25 who is out of school and asking him whether he would like to continue his education and, if so, what his principal interests and convenient times are. The survey of available resources will include collecting full information about all the institutional and human resources available in the community that could be utilised, on a part-time basis, for a programme of this type. If the survey is properly carried out (and the personnel carrying out the survey could be quickly trained in a workshop of about ten to fifteen days), a picture of a programme for the locality will emerge. It will be the young persons who are interested in further education, the type of training they need, and also the local agencies that can be mobilised. It will then also be possible to work out the financial estimates. These will obviously vary from place to place and also depend considerably upon the type or programme to be evolved.

In planning the programmes, the key factors are elasticity and an earnest effort to get a 'fit' between the needs of the individual and the facilities provided for him. While in theory an attempt has to be made to meet, as individually as possible, the needs of the different categories of youth, in practice it will generally mean that certain 'group needs' will be identified and met in groups.

The overall attempt should be to provide, for each out-of-school youth, a programme of part-time education for one to two hours a day, five days a week, which will be equivalent to full-time education for three months in a year. In addition, he should be required to spend at least two weeks in full-time residential instruction. To begin with, the idea should be to get every out-of-school youth under the programme for a period of one year at least. Many of the young persons who are thus exposed will want to continue their studies further on an optional basis, and they should be given every encouragement to do so. Ultimately the programme should be able to provide about three years of such part-time education to all in this age group.

Even in one year of part-time education, it is possible to include some upgrading of vocational skills, courses for functional literacy where necessary, some general education in citizenship, family life education, and some provision for recreational and cultural activities. But something very

worthwhile could be achieved if a young person were to continue under the programme for about three years.

The programmes for boys are comparatively easier to organise and the resources available for them, especially in terms of personnel, are larger. In the beginning, therefore, the programme will be largely meant for boys. But the importance of education for the girls should not be underrated and special efforts should be made, right from the start to meet their needs.

While a beginning can thus be made with about fifty centres in a district, it should be possible to expand to about two hundred centres in three or four years, and the entire district can be intensively covered during the next decade.

We should begin with at least one district in every State and in at least one block in every Union Territory. The expansion will follow certain obvious lines. Every year, new districts or community development blocks may be added. In a district that has already been selected, new centres can be added; and in centres that are already established, attempts can be made to increase enrolments and to deepen and diversify the programmes. The target should be that at the end of the Fourth Plan we should bring under this programme about 10 per cent - nine million - of the total population of out-of-school youth. If funds do not permit, the target may be reduced by 50 per cent. At the end of the Fifth Plan, the attempt should be to cover about 50 to 60 per cent of the age group at least for a minimum period of one year. This will of course be continued, on a voluntary basis, for as long a period as practicable.

It may be an advantage to have an advisory committee at the district level consisting of the representatives of all agencies and departments that will cooperate therein.

If this basic structure at the district level is properly developed, coordination at other levels will not present any serious problem. At the State level, there will have to be a special officer of the status of a Joint or Additional Director of Education to look after the programme. There may be an advantage in having a State-level coordination committee to assist him. At the Central level, we might have a similar coordinating committee of the ministries concerned, with a special officer in charge of the programme located in the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare.

Appendix IV  
Table I. Educational Institutions (1855-1973)

	1855-56	1901-02	1921-22	1946-47	1973-74 (Estimates)
1. Universities	—	5	14	17	94
2. Colleges of General Education	21	145	172	496	3,030
3. Colleges of Professional and other Education	13(a)	46	74	130	2,352
4. Secondary Schools (General)	81	1,170	1,248	5,297	40,127
5. Secondary Schools: Vocational and Technical	—	94	292	665	7,735(e)
6. Special and other Schools	7(b)	990	3,729	4,746	15,000
7. Middle Schools	(c)	4,323	6,739	11,162	97,356
8. Primary Schools	50,676(d)	97,854	160,070	172,681	429,888
Total (all educational institutions)	50,998	104,627	173,313	196,891	595,582

a) Includes schools also.

b) These were teacher training institutions.

c) Included under secondary/primary schools as the case may be.

d) Includes indigenous schools which were really outside the system.

e) Excludes adult education classes.

Table II. Enrolment by States (1855-1973)

	1855-56	1901-02	1921-22	1946-47	1973-74 (Estimates)
1. University Stage (including pre-university and intermediate)					
Total	4,355(a)	23,007	58,837	237,546	4,102,211
Girls	N.A.	264	1,529	23,207	898,538
(No. of girls for every 100 boys enrolled)			(1)	(3)	(11)(28)
2. Secondary Stage					
Total	33,801(b)	82,312	218,606	370,812	7,475,046
Girls	N.A.	1,677	5,818	83,270	2,068,682
(No. of girls for every 100 boys enrolled)		(2)	(3)	(11)	(38)
3. Middle Schools Stage					
Total	(c)	1,080,670	385,372	2,036,109	14,688,516
Girls		8,133	24,655	281,606	4,466,447
(No. of girls for every 100 boys enrolled)		(5)	(7)	(16)	(44)

(Contd...)

	1855-56	1901-02	1921-22	1946-47	1973-74 (Estimates)
4. Primary Schools Stage					
Total	885,624(d)	3,564,122	6,404,200	14,105,418	63,193,358
Girls		380,282	1,297,643	3,728,793	23,980,156
(No. of girls for every 100 boys enrolled)		(12)	(25)	(63)	(61)
5. Total Enrolment of All Stages					
Total	923,780	3,886,493	7,207,308	17,750,263	91,059,133
Girls	N.A.	393,168	1,340,842	4,156,742	31,523,843
(No. of girls for every 100 boys enrolled)		(11)	(23)	(31)	(53)

a)Includes enrolment in professional schools as well.

b)Includes some enrolment at the middle stage also.

c)Included in secondary/primary stage

d)Includes enrolment in indigenous schools which were really as the case may be. outside the system.

Table III. Educational Expenditures (1855-1973)

(Rs. in thousands)

	1855-56	1901-02	1921-22	1946-47	1973-74 (Estimates)
Government Funds	N.A.	10,279	90,230	259,589	1,152,000
Local Funds	N.A.	7,425	24,731	84,021	96,000
Fees	N.A.	12,688	38,009	152,222	240,000
Other Sources	N.A.	9,729	30,783	80,781	12,000
Total	N.A.	40,121	183,753	576,613	1,600,000

Table IV. Literacy in India

Year	Literate	Illiterate	% of Literates
<i>* Literacy in all age groups (in crores)</i>			
1951	5.53	29.39	16.67
1961	10.58	33.34	24.03
1971	15.81	38.74	29.46
<i>** Adult Literacy in the age group above 14 years (in crores)</i>			
1951	4.15	17.39	19.26
1961	7.19	18.70	27.76
1971	10.58	21.17	33.32
<i>** Adult Literacy in the age group above 15-34 years (in crores)</i>			
1951	2.54	8.97	22.09
1961	4.56	9.51	32.40
1971	6.90	9.82	41.27
<i>* Literacy among young adults (15-24 Years)(in crores)</i>			
1951	1.44	4.63	23.69
1961	2.63	4.69	35.97
1971	4.30	4.76	46.47
<i>** Literacy among children (10-14 years) (in crores)</i>			
1951	0.97	3.26	2.96
1961	2.08	2.85	42.26
1971	3.36	3.39	49.75

\* Absolute figures.

\*\* 1% sample survey by Registrar General.

## 5

## Reflections on the Future Development of Education: An Assessment of Educational Reforms in India and Lessons for the Future (1980)\*

### A SYNOPSIS

Radical changes in Indian Education have been too few and too slow to come about. In fact, the whole history of Indian Education in the modern period falls into two stages:

**1800-1900:** During this period, one radical change in education was carried out, viz., the traditional system of Indian education was replaced by the colonial system.

**1900-1978:** During this period, we decided to bring about another radical change in education, viz., to replace the colonial system by the national system of education. We are still trying to reach this goal, and it would be an achievement even if we do so by the end of the century.

In 1800, the traditional system of education based on religion and shared only by a small minority of the people held the field. It took the British administration nearly 100 years to replace it by the colonial system whose principal object was to educate a class of intermediaries and interpreters between them and the people.

The principal landmarks were four: (1) the decision of Bentinck (1835) to use English as the medium of instruction; (2) the decision of Hardinge (1844) to employ educated people under government; (3) the Despatch of 1854; and (4) the Indian Education Commission (1882). This revolutionary reform was

\*R.R. Kale Memorial Lecture, 1978

possible because of several factors such as full and enthusiastic support by the government who found it politically and administratively useful; state patronage to educated persons; and support by the ruling classes in the Indian society itself who were its main beneficiaries and who found the change of great use to rehabilitate themselves in the new social, economic and political order created by the British rule.

Between 1900 and 1947, we were mainly engaged in trying to get control of the education system. We finally succeeded in this and the principal landmarks were: (1) Association of local bodies with primary education (1884); (2) Dyarchy in the Provinces (1921); (3) Provincial Autonomy (1937); and (4) Independence (1947). We also used this period to plan out the concept and programmes of national education and to establish a few experimental institutions.

After the attainment of independence, the central and the state governments were expected to give the highest priority of education and create a national system of education as early as possible. This has not been done and all that has happened is that the same old colonial system has been expanded immensely with a few changes here and there. It is therefore necessary to review the entire position and to make an intensive effort to create a national system of education as early as possible and at any rate by the end of the century. This will involve:

- a fresh and hard look at all our concepts of national education, some of which have become out of date;
- launching a simultaneous programme of complementary and mutually supporting educational and social reforms;
- initiating a reform movement, both within the system and without;
- cooperation between educational and socio-political workers; and
- organisation of large-scale nationwide movement to create the necessary social ethos.

Even when such major tasks are facing us, it is a pity that we waste our time and resources in 'playing' with education and in carrying out small, peripheral changes which often cancel out one another. This futile and even harmful effort should be given up and we should mobilise all resources, human and material, to build up

a well-planned, nationwide, vigorous and sustained effort to create a national system of education suited to the life, needs and aspirations of people.

#### EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN INDIA: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

I am very grateful to Prof. V. M. Dandekar for inviting me to deliver the R. R. Kale Memorial Lecture this year. I deem it both an honour and a privilege. I shall, with your permission, use this occasion to share with you some of my thoughts on educational reform in India.

#### Two Contradictory Views

When I discuss the problem of educational reform with the members of the public, I generally find that two contradictory sets of views are held.

- 1) One group of people complains about too many and too frequent changes in education. For instance, they complain about frequent transfers of teachers, frequent changes in curricula and the even more frequent changes in textbooks, the recent obsession with the pattern of school and college classes in which all possible permutations and combinations of 10+2+3 are being bandied about, frequent and often arbitrary changes in grant-in-aid codes, a bewildering variety of rules and courses, not only from state to state but from university to university, and so on. In the good old days, they say, what was good enough for one's father was good enough for him; but today, what was good enough for one's eldest son does not seem to be good enough for his younger brother. They also complain that, while in the past, one found a fairly uniform system of education all over the country, today things seem to vary, not only from state to state, but even from one part of the state to another. The main demand put forward by this group is for stability and uniformity to overcome the problems arising from too many and too frequent changes and too many local variations which hurt the increasing mobile population.
- 2) The second group of people complains that the change in education is too little and too slow, that the education

system introduced by the British administrators is still basically intact, and that we need an immediate and radical reconstruction of the education or an educational revolution. They also complain about the rigidity of our system, which is basically uniform in all parts of the country and which does not readily permit variations to suit local conditions and needs. On and whole, therefore, this group makes an exactly opposite demand and asks for a radical reform, elasticity and diversification.

Of course, there is some truth in both these viewpoints; or better still, they represent two different aspects of a common phenomenon which I propose to examine in the historical context.

Three stages in Major Educational Reform:

- 1) 1813-1900: This was the period in which the first major reform in modern education was slowly, but steadily and firmly implemented, viz., the traditional educational system was almost wholly replaced by the colonial one.
- 2) 1900-1947: This was a period when the control over the education system gradually passed from the British administration to the Indian people; and Indians did continuous and considerable thinking about the National System of Education they would like to create, and also experimented about their new ideas on a limited scale.
- 3) 1947-1978: This is a period in which we are trying, without much success so far, to create a National System of Education suited to the life, needs and aspiration of the people.

I shall discuss these three periods seriatim.

#### The First Major Reform (1813-1900)

At the opening of the nineteenth century, we had a limited system of formal education consisting of some institutions of higher learning and a much larger number of elementary schools. The Hindu institutions of higher learning (the Tols and Pathashalas) used Sanskrit as the medium of instruction and were open only to the higher castes traditionally authorised to study the Vedas. The institutions of higher learning of Muslims (the Madrassahs) used Arabic and Persian as media of instructions and, though mostly used by Muslims, were open to Hindus as well, and many

Hindus did study Persian which was a language of the Mughal court. Both categories of institutions were mediaeval in character and basically oriented to the study of religion. Their enrolments were also small, less than one to a thousand of total population.

The elementary schools were comparatively humbler institutions which taught the three R's to those who wanted to learn them and the Muslim maktabas also taught reading of the Koran in addition. The enrolments of even these institutions were not large – about one to five per cent of the total population of children in the age group 5 – 15 and these consisted mostly of the children of the well-to-do social groups and the literary or higher castes.

Girls, when they went to school at all, were extremely few; and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who lived on the fringe of the society had hardly any access to the system. The vast bulk of the people, therefore, were educated in the incidental and non-formal channels of education which initiated them to the essential vocational skills, introduced them to the traditional social culture, and helped them to adjust themselves to their lonely and unenviable station in life.

The Charter Act of 1813 required the East Indian Company to develop a programme for the education of the Indian people. Faced with this challenge, the officials of the Company had three options:

- a) They could leave the indigenous system of education as it was and merely provide it with state support. This was tried, for instance, when Sanskrit colleges were established at Pune and Varanasi.
- b) They could accept the indigenous system of education as the principal operational instrument but try to improve it by introducing modern knowledge through the Sanskrit medium. This was the view of the Classicist group led by H. T. Prinsep.
- c) They could ignore the indigenous system altogether and create a new system of education which would teach Western literature, philosophy and science through the medium of English. This was the view of the Anglicists led by T. B. Macaulay.



After a short struggle which was unequal from the very start, it was the third group that won the battle in 1835 when Lord William Bentinck made English the language of courts and administration and directed that the grand objective of education was to spread Western knowledge through the medium of English. The popularity of the system, which had the strong support of enlightened Indian leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, was assured when Lord Hardinge promised jobs under government to those who were educated in the new system (1844). The system therefore grew rapidly and under the guidance of policy laid down by the Despatch of 1854 and the Indian Education Commission (1882), entrenched itself fully in the country by 1900. Over the years, this colonial system developed a three-tier pattern which consisted of elementary schools (which generally used the Indian languages as media of instruction), secondary schools (which generally taught English as a second language to begin with and then used it as a medium of instruction), and colleges and universities (which invariably used English as medium of instruction).

This revolutionary reform was possible because of several factors which need mention, viz., full and enthusiastic support by the government who found it politically and administratively useful to create a class of intermediaries and interpreters between them and the people; state patronage to educated persons; and support by the ruling classes in the Indian society itself who were its main beneficiaries and who found the change of great use to rehabilitate themselves in the new social, economic and political order created by the British Rule.

This major educational reform unleashed three major movements which are still in progress, viz., secularisation, democratisation and modernisation. I will briefly refer to each of them.

- a) *Secularisation*: As I said earlier, the traditional education system was essentially religious. But the sheer force of circumstances compelled the new educational system to adopt a secular stance. The decision was not easy. The missionaries who pioneered the educational effort in India wanted the religious character of schools to continue with the substitution of Christianity for Hinduism and Islam. But this was not politically convenient to the government

which evolved the doctrine of social and religious neutrality for sheer survival. Nor was government prepared to support the teaching of Hinduism and Islam. Ultimately, a compromise formula was evolved: the schools should be open to all children, irrespective of caste or religion; the government schools should not provide any religious instruction; the private schools on the other hand, may provide a religious instruction of their choice; shall have the right to withdraw his child from such instruction but any parent who objects to such instruction without withdrawing him from the school itself. For want of a better formulation, this decision continues to hold the field even today and has been embodied in the Constitution.

Within the Hindu fold, this move towards secularisation had one healthy effect. The study of the *Vedas* and Sanskrit had, in the past, been restricted mostly to the Dvija castes. Now this study was thrown open to all the Hindu castes, including the scheduled castes. In course of time, therefore, these so-called lower castes began to study Sanskrit books and sacred literature and have now become teachers in these fields and even priests. This is a great achievement indeed. Unfortunately these studies are losing their popularity, due to the change of socioeconomic conditions in the society as a whole. It is a great pity. One however wishes, from a cultural point of view, that these studies should gain momentum among the non-Dvija castes. It would certainly be worthwhile to organise a social movement for the purpose on a continuing basis.

- b) *Democratisation*: The second movement unleashed through this major educational reform was democratisation. The basic assumption of the traditional education system was that formal education is meant only for a few; and in actual practice also, persons belonging only to a certain socioeconomic status had access to it. In the new educational system, however, the schools were open to all, irrespective of caste, colour, race, sex or religion. But this major victory had to be won after a prolonged struggle. The first to enter the fray were girls. In the earlier years, government did not encourage girls' education for fear of offending orthodox public opinion. But Dalhousie's clear

orders of 1850 opened out government patronage to girls' schools; and their education spread, first in urban centres and then in rural areas, especially as women teachers became available. It was the girls from the upper and middle classes that came in first and those from the lower classes came in later, the expansion first took place at the primary level and girls entered secondary and vocational schools, colleges and universities much later. This spread of education helped to raise the age of marriage and to improve their social status; and in their turn, these reforms accelerated the spread of education among women.

The scheduled castes or the so-called untouchables had a more difficult battle to wage. In the beginning, they were not admitted to schools at all for fear that the caste Hindus would boycott a school which admitted the scheduled castes, but a firm decision was taken not to refuse admission to any scheduled castes. This had its desired result and their presence in the school came to be accepted, although grudgingly. Untouchability however still remained, and the scheduled caste students were not even admitted to the premises of the school when it was held in a temple and they were treated as a group within a group and were not allowed to touch or mix with the other students. In spite of these difficulties, the education of the scheduled castes made considerable progress.

Yet another aspect of the democratisation process was that education at all levels began to 'filter' down to different groups who occupied progressively lower positions in the social hierarchy. In the beginning, education was limited in practice to the higher literary castes. But as some individuals from the castes next lower down came into the system and benefited from it, they initiated a movement in their own castes for the further spread of education. When this movement was fairly on the way, it was taken up by some other castes who were still lower down and who took a somewhat longer time to come into the system and to realise its advantages; and so on. Similarly, the movement which was originally restricted mostly to Hindus was gradually picked up by the Muslim community also. By 1900, the order of the spread of education among the

people was the advanced Hindu castes, Muslims and the backward Hindu castes.

It must be pointed out however that this process of democratisation was very limited. It did not recognise the right of every child to receive education. It did not include programmes of liquidating illiteracy or providing compulsory primary education. It did not even include an intensive effort at increasing enrolments on a voluntary basis. In spite of these limitations, this decision to throw the schools open to all children, irrespective of caste, religion, sex, race or colour did constitute the first major step in democratisation and should be welcomed as such.

- c) *Modernisation*: the third movement which this educational reform initiated was that of modernisation. Indians had lost contact with the outside world and had begun to stagnate. English opened a window on the world and enabled them to relate themselves to the world outside. This had a very stimulating effect and led to a cultural renaissance and several social reforms. As Gokhale said, English education liberated the Indian mind from "the thralldom of old world ideas". This renaissance gradually spread to all walks of life and led to a flowering of Indian languages and of the literature in them.

#### **From Colonial to Indian Control (1900-1947)**

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Indian people (which only meant the educated upper and middle classes and higher castes) were generally in favour of the new system of education and appreciative of its advantages, by 1900, however, they began to realise that the colonial educational system could not be considered an unmixed blessing, that it had more or less outlived its utility, and that a stage had been reached when its disadvantages rather than its advantages were being felt more acutely. For instance, the colonial rather than liberal aspects of educational policy began to come to the fore; and as time passed, the British rule began to emphasise 'control' of private Indian enterprise in education rather than its development, loyalty to the crown rather than a sense of patriotism (which often came to be described as indiscipline), narrow training for employment under government rather than spread of liberal education as such, and

a mere command over English language rather than acquisition of knowledge, skills or values.

While educated Indians were given employment under government to an increasing extent, care was taken to see that all important posts were held only by the trusted Britishers. Similarly, the secular policy was found to be more negative than positive and the schools did very little to foster a really secular outlook. Nor was any attempt made to foster moral values through appropriate methods. In the same way, the democratisation process was halted because of the continued neglect of mass education and the programme of modernisation suffered because new values suited to modern life did not grow even while the traditional values continued to languish.

The study of English had first stimulated the development of Indian languages. But its continued dominance in administration, trade, commerce, industry and education began to interfere with their further development; and so on. A strong feeling was therefore created that the colonial educational system established in the early nineteenth century had outlived its utility and that the country would not progress further unless another major educational reform was attempted.

It is necessary to draw pointed attention to the main thrust of the second major reform in Indian education. Whereas the first major educational reform was mainly social and cultural and was based on the conflict between the traditional educational system and the modern one with its emphasis on secularisation, democratisation and modernisation, the concept of this second educational reform was mainly political and was based on the conflict between the interests of the colonial administration and the demand for self-rule made by the Indian people. In popular parlance, this may be called the struggle to create a national system of education.

A key note of this movement is probably best contained in the Resolution on National Education adopted by the Indian National Congress in 1906 which said: "A time has now arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls, and organise a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country, on national lines under national control and directed towards the realisation of national destiny."

The movement thus initiated was kept up till 1947 and took four main forms: boycott of official school and colleges as an important aspect of political struggle for freedom; defining the concept and working out the programmes of the national system education which the country needed; conduct of a few institutions outside the official system where experimental work on national education could be undertaken; and struggle to gain control over the official education system.

- 1) *The Boycott Movement*: The boycott movement got a boost whenever the political struggle reached a high pitch as, for instance, in the movement against Bengal partition or the non-cooperation, civil disobedience and quit-India movements. Its main achievements were to focus public and official attention on educational reform.
- 2) *Concept and Programmes of National Education*: A more positive effort made during this period was to clarify the concept and programmes of national education. For instance, the long debate over the subject clarified the following issues amongst others:
  - a) The national education system cannot be a pale imitation of the British education system (as the official system was or tried to be). It had to be newly designed to meet the needs of life and aspirations of the people, and it should help to create, not a lesser England, but a greater India.
  - b) The national education system is an essentially Swadeshi product but not a chauvinistic one, modernisation does not mean losing one's roots or the substitution of the Eastern culture by the Western. It should really mean being more Indian, drawing increased sustenance from our own glorious past, and simultaneously making a synthesis of all that is best in the East and the West. As Gandhiji said: "I would like the winds from all corners of the world to blow in freely through the windows of my house, but I would not like to be blown off my feet by any."
  - c) The national education system must emphasize the values of equality, justice, freedom and dignity of the individual and must strive to cultivate a rational, scientific temper and a secular outlook.

- d) The national system of education must emphasize the education of people, and especially the two programmes of liquidation of illiteracy and the provision of universal elementary education for all children.
- e) The national education system must emphasize the culture of work, the dignity of manual labour, vocational and professional education which was greatly neglected by the British and an intensive development of science and technology.
- f) The national system of education must reduce the undue importance given to English in the colonial system. In it, the Indian languages must be fully developed and used in administration, courts, competitive examinations, and education. The national link should also be an Indian language (Hindi) and at the international level, we should promote a study, not only of English but also for all other important languages like French, German, Russian, Spanish or Arabic.
- g) The national education system should emphasize a study of Indian culture and the cultivation of moral and spiritual values.

The debate on the subject which raged between 1906 and 1947 and in which veterans like Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Zakir Hussain took part is extremely stimulating. It needs to be studied more widely in greater depth.

Before leaving the subject, one point needs to be stressed. In the debate on the national system of education, two issues should have received much greater attention worthy of their significance, the first is the manner in which the forces of secularisation, modernisation and democratisation could be strengthened; and the second is the administrative and financial aspects of the problem dealing with such matters as decentralisation, elasticity and dynamism, freedom to experiment and innovate and general economies and reduction in unit costs which will ensure that a national system of education with adequate

coverage and quality can really be created and maintained within the resources available, but unfortunately, they were not studied on an adequate scale; and this did become a major weakness which hampered the implementation of the national system of education to a considerable extent.

- 3) *Experimentation*: During this period, nationalist leaders also established a few experimental institutions of national education like Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Jamia Millia or Vishwa Bharati. They did some useful pioneer work. But their number was too small to make an impact on the formal system.
- 4) *Indian Control*: The programme of getting control over the education system was most emphasized during this period and also fully achieved. A beginning in this direction was made as early as 1884 when Lord Ripon decided to create local bodies and vest them with some authority in primary education. The next step was taken in 1919 when the system of diarchy was introduced in the Provinces and the control over certain subjects was transferred to Indian Ministers. Under this plan, education was treated as partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with some limitations and partly transferred without limitations. In 1935, under the scheme of Provincial Autonomy, all aspects of education (except a few reserved for the Government of India) were transferred to Indian control. Finally, with the attainment of Independence in 1947, the whole of education came under Indian control and the people were in a position, for the first time in modern history, to direct it towards the realisation of a national destiny.

#### Implementing the Second Major Educational Reform (1947– 1978)

What have we done to implement the programmes of national education in the last 30 years and to translate into action the dreams and visions we built up and the promises we gave to the people during the earlier period (1906-47)? This is the one significant question to be asked in the evaluation of educational development in the post-independence period. I am afraid, the answers to this question are far from reassuring.

- 1) First, let us take the approach adopted to solve the problem. In view of the earlier commitments of the national

leadership, one would expect that educational reconstruction should have been accorded the highest priority on the attainment of independence, that a Commission to deal with the problem comprehensively should have been appointed without delay, and that the report of such a Commission should have been implemented in a sustained and vigorous fashion so that a national system of education would have been created in a period of 10-20 years, but somehow this was not done. Education was dealt with in a piecemeal rather than in a comprehensive fashion. A University Education Commission was appointed in 1948 and a Secondary Education Commission in 1952. A Primary Education Commission, however, was never appointed. A commission with comprehensive terms of reference was appointed for the first time in 1964; but its valuable report has remained mostly unimplemented so far.

- 2) Even if one asks a question of priorities, it becomes at once evident that education did not receive adequate inputs of additional funds; and that a large part of the investment made went to waste because of the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the system which we did not try to correct. What is worse, the essential human inputs of hard, sustained and dedicated work by teachers, students and administrators were never adequately made.
- 3) In the same way, programmes of national education which had been accorded very high priority in the earlier debates were also largely neglected. For instance, the problem of liquidation of illiteracy received very scant attention. The programme of providing universal elementary education for all children in the age group 6-14 continued to languish in spite of the self-imposed constitutional directive to complete it in ten years. The scheme of basic education never made any real headway. The importance of English increased rather than decreased; the cause of Hindi actually received a setback; and the Indian languages did not make adequate progress. No effort was made to evolve positive programmes to promote a secular outlook nor to cultivate social, moral and spiritual values. Even experimental institutions of national education received a set back. As

they did not think it necessary to remain outside the system after independence, they were given grants-in-aid; and very soon it was found that instead of having an impact on the general system, they lost their own earlier character and become a part of the formal education system itself.

- 4) Under the colonial rule, a dual system of education similar to the one that existed in England had been created in India as well. That is to say, the educational system had a small sector of good private schools (mostly using English as medium) and a few first-rate colleges which were mostly utilised by the small minority of the rich and well-to-do classes, the children of common man on the other hand were required to attend only the government or other private institutions of good quality. It was expected that this dualism would be eliminated altogether. Instead, it actually increased. In fact, the English medium special schools and public schools expanded as never before.
- 5) It was hoped that the small class, mostly educated, which came to power in 1947 would use this opportunity for improving the standards of living of the poor and for educating them. It was, however, found that this did not happen; and the ruling class or classes used their authority shamelessly to strengthen their own position. Or instance, tremendous resources went into the development of secondary and university education which mostly benefited the haves and wherein there was a large element of public subsidies. Standards were improved, at public cost, in certain sectors or categories of educational institutions which were mostly attended by the upper and middle classes while they were allowed to deteriorate in the rest of the system which catered to the needs of the common man.
- 6) In a vast and plural country like ours, we need a policy of decentralisation, promotion of diversity and elasticity, and full freedom to experiment and innovate if, even within the broad framework of a national policy, we are to relate education to the life, needs and aspiration of the people. But our craze for uniformity and centralisation still continues, making the system extremely rigid and inelastic. In this situation where either everybody moves or none moves, the usual result is that nobody moves.

- 7) The processes of secularisation, democratisation and modernisation were initiated by the colonial educational system in the nineteenth century itself. In the national system of education, it was our duty to strengthen them. But we have paid no adequate attention to this very significant problem (except to the extent expansion, which we have stressed so far, assists in democratisation), either in the debate on the national system of education or in our attempts at educational development in the post-independence period.

This list of failures can be easily multiplied but it is hardly necessary to do so. From what is stated above, it becomes evident that, instead of making a planned, vigorous and sustained effort to create a national system of education as we had promised to the people, we have merely secured a large linear expansion of the colonial system (with, of course, many marginal changes), probably for the simple reason that it benefited us, the ruling classes. Consequently the task of creating a national system of education to which we pledged ourselves as early as in 1906 is still unfinished, even after thirty years of independence, this shows that basic changes in Indian education are too few, too slow and too difficult to be brought about.

### Some Suggestions for Action

I do not think that this evaluation will be seriously challenged. I shall therefore desist from elaborating it any further. Instead, I would like to discuss why this happened and what we should do to ensure that the situation is radically changed and that we do create a national system of education, of adequate coverage and good quality, at least by the end of the century.

My first suggestion from this point of view is that we must give a fresh and hard look at all our concepts and programmes of national education. As I have said earlier, most of this thinking was done between 1906 and 1947. In spite of the almost continuous churning of educational ideas in the post-independence period through innumerable Committees and Commissions, the basic contours of this thinking still remain the same. Two main sources through which an input of live ideas is made into the reform of an educational system are (1) intensive

research and (2) experimentation and innovation. In our country, the first is still in its infancy and the second is more conspicuous by its absence. Probably the best effort ever made in this direction is the Report of the Education Commission (1964-66). But apart from its weaknesses which are better appreciated at this distance of time, it has also become out of date at present. When one talks of a national system of education, therefore, one tends to repeat old concepts and ideas almost ad museum and seems to have learnt nothing by the events of the last seventy years. This will not serve the purpose we have in view. As the Education Commission itself pointed out: "In the rapidly changing world of today, one thing is certain. Yesterday's educational system will not meet today's and even less so, the need of tomorrow." There is therefore absolutely no escape from preparing a new blue-print for the national system of education, after taking into consideration all our experience of the last seventy years and all the latest thinking on the subject, both in India and in the world.

The formulation of a plan is no doubt important. But it is certainly not the most difficult step in the process, especially for a people who are notorious as 'good planners and bad implementers'. What we need to emphasize most is implementation and that involves detailed attention, both to the processes and to the agents of change.

Regarding the processes of change, I would like to make three points:

- 1) Education is a sub-system of the society; and consequently, educational and social changes have to go together. Unfortunately, our assumption so far has been that it is possible to make a radical change in the educational system even within the existing society and that this educational change will initiate a process which will bring about the desired social change also. Experience has shown that this assumption is not correct and that entrenched social, economic and political forces resist all educational changes they do not like and very often succeed in preventing or slowing them down. We must therefore act on the more legitimate assumption that we can get the best results when we try to bring about simultaneous and complementary social and educational changes that strengthen and support each other.

- 2) Similarly, educational changes are best carried out when pressures in their favour are created simultaneously both within and without the educational system. We must therefore organise massive educational programmes outside the system; and at the same time, we should also ensure that all progressive forces within the system are stimulated, encouraged and assisted to experiment and to innovate.
- 3) Radical changes in education can be best brought about when there is a strong national movement in their support. Such a movement develops better motivation among the people and the workers, provides a proper setting, creates the needed ethos, and improves the level of performance of all workers. In fact, it would be impossible to think of implementing a large-scale programme of educational transformation without such a movement to support it. Let us not forget that in a vast country like India, with its innumerable complex problems to solve, the scale of the reform movement is a major factor that can contribute to success.

Many a well-meant effort at radical reforms has failed in the past because these factors were not adequately emphasized. We should avoid such mistakes in future.

Regarding the agents of change also, our assumptions of the past need a re-evaluation. In the pre-independence days, there was naturally an emphasis on non-official effort and an under-emphasis on official support which would not have been available any how. In the post-independence period, on the other hand, there has been an overemphasis on the effort of the central and state governments and the bureaucracy who were supposed to do everything that needed to be done. The Education Commission (1964-66) assumed that the radical changes needed in the educational system can be carried out by teachers and students if the necessary lead and support is provided by the central and state governments. Neither of these hopes have been realised. The central and state governments have often played a conservative role and protected mainly the interests of the upper and middle classes whom they really represent. Both teachers and students have also shown a class bias and have not stood firmly in favour of those radical changes which would affect them adversely or

help the underprivileged groups. It has, therefore, now become obvious that the radical educational changes which we need can only be brought about, if the people themselves are intimately involved and if the programme is supported by a nationwide movement to bring about a socioeconomic transformation. In other words, the social / political workers and educational workers will have to coordinate their efforts; the former will have to be made more conscious of the need to link their work with programmes of educational reconstruction just as the educational workers will have to be made more appreciative of the social, economic and political implications of their programmes.

If we can mount up a major national effort to formulate a new national policy in education and to implement it in a sustained and vigorous fashion outlined above, there is no doubt that we would be able to create a good system of national education over the next ten years or so, or at any rate before the end of the current century. Even if we can do that, we would have taken a hundred years (1900-2000) to undo the colonial system which itself had been created over hundred years (1800-1900).

### Obsession with the Peripheral Changes in Education

I have shown how the basic changes in our educational system have been too few and too slow in the last 175 years and thus justified the second of the two views which I stated at the beginning of my lecture. But the first view which holds that changes in education are too many and too frequent is also correct because the 'changes' referred to in this view are the peripheral and not the basic ones; and that leads me to raise the issue: Why are we so obsessed with the idea of bringing about these peripheral changes and waste resources over them when the basic changes are not being attempted with any comparable earnestness?

The first answer is psychological. When one is faced with a difficult problem which one cannot solve, there is a general temptation to attempt the easier tasks on the fringe. This does create an atmosphere of activity which is often mistaken for progress and more often than not, has its own political pay-offs.

The second answer is rooted in a peculiar administrative tradition we have developed. All social and educational policies are necessarily long-term; but none of us is content to take an

impersonal role and to say that he is implementing a social or a national policy in education which has already been laid down. On the other hand, we take too egoistic a view and would like to say: "I did this thing which was new or I made these changes in the policy of my predecessor which were wrong." Such attitudes can only lead to peripheral changes inspired by a short-term perspective and the introduction of too many changes several of which would just cancel each other out.

Gokhale once said that Queen Victoria sent every Viceroy in India with two specific mandates: (1) the first was that he should clear all the mess done by his predecessor; and (2) the second was that he should also add enough mess of his own in order that his successor also should have adequate work to justify his appointment. Obviously, things were bad enough under this administrative tradition, even when there was only one Viceroy for the whole of India. In education, however the problem gets magnified several times because we have to imagine a situation where this mandate is taken seriously and fully implemented by 31 Education Ministers, as many Education Secretaries, more than 60 Directors of Education, and nearly 600 other executive officers at the district level! The vast doing and undoing that goes on in such a system can only be imagined. Needless to say, much of it is meaningless and even harmful.

Would not one like to pray, in such a situation, that we should have less of this large and often meaningless activity? Of course, yes. But then the only way to achieve this objective is to concentrate all our energies and resources on trying to tackle the basic problem involved in the radical reconstruction of education and society. The sooner we realise this, the better for all concerned.

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